BOOK VI.

The

ASHTADHYAYI

of

PANINI.

PARTS XXI—XXIV.

S. C. VASU.

Price Rs 3.

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS OF SANSKRIT.

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P... o H.H. the M...

यच्छ्रीमदीयमतिमादवह वरेण्य सत्पुस्तकं प्रमुदितोहमहोशकृत्यं ॥ ३ ॥
च्चित्रंयदस्ति भवतेंग्लिशबोधभाजा यद्वस्तुतो विरचितं समदृक् सुविम्बं ।
लोकेसुचित्ररचनाभरणैकशीला श्चित्रेचचित्रमनसः प्रतिबिंबमात्रे ॥ ४ ॥
सत्सोंग्लिशप्रकटितंवरसूत्रवृत्तौ संज्ञादिपेशलमनो कुहकल्पसाक्षिं ।
स्थानेवसुप्रहितवित्ताविवृत्तिवर्ये यद्वासुतासुविहिनोंग्लिशभाववृत्तिः ॥ ५ ॥
येनत्त्वया मुनिमताकृतशास्त्रसंघान् निर्मथ्यसौधरसवन्महतादरेण ।
संगुम्फितं सरलसंस्कृतसाध्यसारं धन्यं वदाम्यहमलं भवतेहिताय ॥ ६ ॥
मन्थस्ययत्प्रसरणाखिलकीर्त्तिकृत्ये याचेपराङ्गवतोप्यहमत्रविद्वन् ।
यत्पूर्वपश्चिममुखेषुसदाप्रचारं लाभंसुखंगुरुचिरं च तवापि धीमन् ॥ ७ ॥
वाणीविलम्बरतवास्तुमुखे अयोध्या यत्पूर्वपश्चिमजबोधभृते च विद्या ।
ख्यातिस्सदासकल वर्घभूजां समूहऽप्याशीर्विचा भवतु पंडित लालचन्द्रं ॥ ८ ॥

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SINDHU CHARAN BASU,

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BOOK VI.

THE ASHTÁDHYÁYÍ OF PÁṆINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

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TO

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Kt. Q. C.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,

AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AND OF EDUCATION

IN

THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.

ओ३म् ।

अथ षष्ठाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER FIRST.

एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, अचः, द्वे, प्रथमस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम्। एकाच इति च द्वे इति च प्रथमस्येति च त्रितयमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम । इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामः प्राक्संप्रसारणविधानात् तत्रैकाचः प्रथमस्य द्वे भवत इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् । वक्ष्यति लिटि धातोरनभ्यासस्येति । तत्र धातोरवयवस्यानभ्यासस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वे भवतः ॥

1. In the room of the first portion, containing a single vowel, there are two.

Upto Sûtra VI. 1. 12 inclusive it is to be understood that for the first syllable two are to be made, i. e, the first syllable is to be reduplicated. This is an adhikâra sûtra: all the three words viz एकाचः, and द्वे and प्रथमस्य are to be read in the subsequent sûtras upto VI. 1. 12, before the rule of Samprasâraṇa begins. Thus Sûtra VI. 1. 8 says "when लिट् follows, of an unreduplicated verbal root". The sense of this sûtra is incomplete, unless we supply the three words of this sûtra, when it will read thus: "when लिट् follows, there are two in the room of the first portion, containing a single vowel of an unreduplicated verbal root". Thus from जागृः—जजागार (जागृ + णल् IV. 3. 82 = जा + जागृ + अ = ज + जागर् + अ VII. 4. 59 = जजागार "he awoke"). So also पपाच्, इयाय, आर from the roots पच्, इ and ऋ ॥ The reduplication takes place through the force of the affix that follows. Thus the affixes of the Perfect Tense (लिट्), the Desiderative (सन्), the Intensive (यङ्), the श्लु vikaraṇa, the Aorist in चङ्; all cause reduplication.

The word एकाच means that which consists of one vowel (अच्) ॥ When a stem or root consists of more than one vowel (is a dissyllabic or polysyllabic root), then the एकाच् प्रथमः will be the *first syllable:* as in जागृ the portion जा is the प्रथम एकाच् 'the first portion consisting of one vowel'. When a root consists of a single vowel, as इ 'to go', then strictly speaking there cannot be any portion which may be called first (प्रथम) or ekâch consisting of a single

vowel). Here, however, will this rule be applied and इ will be reduplicated, according to the maxim "व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्"—"An operation which affects something on account of some special designation which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach". So also in पच् there is no *first* syllable strictly speaking, but still the rule will apply under the above maxim. In making Reduplications the Rule I. 1. 59 should always be borne in mind. Thus पच्+अ (णल् of लिट्) =पाच् पाच्+अ=प पाच्+अ (VII. 4. 59 and 60)=पपाच ॥

The word द्वि in the sûtra indicates that the very word-form is to be doubled or pronounced-twice, and not that another word of similar meaning is substituted. In fact this is not a rule ordaining *substitution* of two, in the room of one; but of the *repetition* of the one. Compare VIII. 1. 1.

अजादेर्द्वितीयस्य ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, आदेः, द्वितीयस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमद्विर्वचनापवादो ऽयम्। अजादेर्द्वितीयस्यैकाचो द्विर्वचनमधिक्रियते। अच् आदिर्यस्य धातोस्तस्यावयवस्य द्वितीयस्यैकाचो द्वे भवतः ॥

2. Of that whose first syllable begins with a vowel, there are two in the room of the second portion containing a single vowel.

This debars the reduplication of the *first* syllable. In a verbal root beginning with a vowel, and consisting of more than one syllable, the *second* syllable is to be reduplicated and not the first. Thus the सनन्त root अटिष, (अट्+सन्=अट्+इट्+सन् VII. 2. 35=अटिष), reduplicates the second syllable टिष् and the 3rd per. sing is अटि टिषति, the ष् being elided by VII. 4. 60: and स changed to ष by VIII. 3. 59. So also अशिशिषति, अरिरिषति ॥ The last form is thus evolved, ऋ+सन्=ऋ+इट्+सन् (VII. 2. 74)=अर+इ+स (VII. 3. 84, and VI. 1. 51). Here now we have to make reduplication, and if I. 1. 59 be applied, then since a vowel affix इ follows, the reduplication of अर should take place i. e. the ऋ the sthânî should be reduplicated. But we have explained the sûtra द्विर्वचनेऽचि I. 1. 59, by the phrase द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽचि, i. e. the vowel-affix causing reduplication. Here the vowel-affix इट् does not cause reduplication, but the consonant-affix सन् that does so. Therefore rule I. 1. 59 does not apply, for इट् itself is a कार्यी, and the maxim applies कार्यमनुभवन्हि कार्यी निमित्ततया नाश्रीयते "surely that which undergoes an operation can, so for as it undergoes that operation, not be made the cause of the application of a grammatical rule". Thus from the root शीङ् is formed शयिता ; here the root शी is guṇated before the augment इट्. Rule I. 1. 5 declaring the prohibition of guṇation with regard to कित् or ङित् words does not apply here. For though शीङ् has an indicatory ङ, yet as it undergoes an operation itself, it cannot be the cause of the application of another rule.

Some persons explain the word अजादेः as the Ablative singular (and not Genitive Singular) of अजादिः and they consider the word as a Karmadhâraya compound and not a Bahuvrîhi compound. According to them the word means:—"The syllable *following* the *initial vowel* is reduplicated". (अच्चासावादिश्चेत्यजादिः, अजादेरुत्तरस्यएकाचो द्वे भवतः)॥ According to this interpretation, the word द्वितीयस्य is merely explanatory.

न न्द्राः संयोगादयः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, न्द्राः, संयोगादयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयस्येति वर्त्तते । द्वितीयस्यैकाचो ऽवयवभूतानां न्द्राणां तदन्तर्भावात् प्राप्तं द्विर्वचनं प्रतिषिध्यते । नकारदकाररेफा द्वितीयैकाचो ऽवयवभूताः संयोगादयो न द्विरुच्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बकारस्याप्ययं प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ दकारोपधोपदेशे तु न वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ यकारपरस्य रेफस्य प्रतिषेधो न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ ईर्ष्यतेस्तृतीय द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ कण्ड्वादीनां तृतीयस्यैकाचो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ नामधातूनां तृतीयस्यैकाचो द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ यथेष्टं नामधातुष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The letters न्, द् and र् being the first letter of a compound consonant and being part of the second syllable, are not reduplicated.

The word dvitîyasya "of the second syllable", is understood here. This sûtra debars the doubling of the consonants n, d, and r when forming parts of the second syllable, provided these letters occur in the beginning of a conjunct (sanyoga) letter. Thus the Desiderative root of उन्द् is उन्दिष, formed by adding सन् and इट् ॥ The second syllable here is न्दिष् which is to be reduplicated by the last rule. But in doing so, न् will not be doubled. Thus we get the form उन्दिदिषति; so also from अड्ड् and अर्च् we have अड्डिडिषति, and अर्चिचिषति ॥

Why do we say "when न्, द् and र् are the letters"? Observe ईचिक्षिषते from ईक्ष् in which क् is the initial letter and has been reduplicated in to च् ॥ Why do we say "being the first letter in a conjunct consonant"? Observe प्राणिणिषति from the root अन् 'to breathe', the न् being changed into ण् by VIII. 4. 19 and 21. The phrase अजादेः of the last sûtra is understood in this sûtra also. Thus दरिद्रासति ॥ Some explain the word अजादेः understood in this sûtra in the same way as in the last, namely as a karmadhâraya compound in the Ablative singular. They do so, in order to explain the form इन्द्रिद्रीयिषति, which is thus evolved इन्द्रमिच्छति = इन्द्र + क्यच् III. 1. 8 = इन्द्रीय ॥ Then इन्द्रीयितुमिच्छति = इन्द्रीय + सन् ॥ Here though the second syllable consists of n, d and r, yet न् alone is rejected in reduplication and not द् and र् also, as द् and र् are not immediately *after* the *initial vowel* (अजादि) इ in this case.

Vârt:—This prohibition should be stated with regard to the letter ब् also. As उब्ज्—उब्जिजिषति ॥ This prohibition applies when the word is taught primarily as having a penultimate ब् ॥ But when it is taught as primarily

having a penultmate ऌ, then the rule does not apply; the ल should then be ordained as a substitute of ऌ ॥ See Tudadi root 20.

Vârt:—There is no prohibition of the र when it is followed by य ॥ Thus अरार्यते ॥ This is the Intensive form of the verb ऋ, and is thus evolved: ऋ + यङ् (III. 1. 22. Vârt) = अर् + य (VII. 4. 30) = अर्य, then follows reduplication by the rules of this sûtra. The second syllable र्य has an initial र which is not however rejected in reduplication.

Vârt:—In the case of the verb ईर्ष्यति the third should be reduplicated. "Third of what"? Some say the third of the consonants, and according to them the form is ईर्ष्यायिषति ॥ Some say the third syllable, therefore of the root ईर्ष्यिष (ईर्ष्य + इट् + सन्), the third syllable ष is reduplicated: Thus ईर्ष्यिषष, ईर्ष्यिषिष (VII. 4. 79) the अ of ष is changed into short इ by VII. 4. 79. = ईर्ष्यिषिषति ॥

Vârt:—The third syllable of the verbs कण्डूय &c. is to be reduplicated. Thus कण्डूय + इट् + सन् = कण्डूयिष = कण्डूयियिषति; so also असूयियिषति &c.

Vârt:—The third syllable of verbs derived from nouns is optionally reduplicated. Thus अश्वीयियिषति or अशिश्वीयिषति ॥

Vârt:—Others say, any syllable of a नामधातु (verbs derived from nouns) may be reduplicated. Thus from the noun पुत्र is derived the root पुत्रीय, the desiderative root of which is पुत्रीयिष, which requires reduplication. Here any syllable may be reduplicated: as. 1. पुपुत्रीयिषति, 2. पुतित्रीयिषति, 3. पुत्रीयियिषति, 4. पुत्रीयिषिषति ॥ Or there may be double and treble reduplication simultaneously as. पुपुतित्रीयियिषति ॥

पूर्वोऽभ्यासः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वः, अभ्यासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वे इति प्रथमान्तं यदनुवर्त्तते तदर्थादिह षष्ठ्यन्तं जायते । तत्र प्रत्यासत्तेरस्मिन्प्रकरणे ये द्वे विहिते तयोर्यः पूर्वो ऽवयवः सो ऽभ्याससंज्ञो भवति ॥

4. The first of the two is called the Abhyâsa or the Reduplicate.

The word द्वे in the nominative case is understood here, but for the purposes of this sûtra it is taken in the Genitive case i. e. द्वयोर्यः पूर्वः "the first of the two" ordained above. The word Abhyâsa occurs in sûtras III. 1. 6, VI. 1. 7 &c.

उभे अभ्यस्तम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभे, अभ्यस्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वे इति वर्त्तमाने उभेग्रहणं समुदायसंज्ञाप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । ये द्वे विहिते ते उभे अपि समुदिते अभ्यस्तसंज्ञे भवतः ॥

5. The both are collectively called Abhyasta.

Though the word द्वे was understood in the sûtra, the use of the word उभे 'both' indicates that the word Abhyasta applies to the two taken together and not to any one of them separately. The word abhyasta occurs in sûtras III. 4. 109, VI. 1. 32 &c. Thus sûtra VI. 1, 189 declares "the first vowel of

an Abhyasta gets the udâtta accent". The Abhyasta being the collective name of the both, the accent will fall on the first and not on the second, as in ददाति dádati, the accent is on the first अ ॥ So also by VII. 1. 4 अत् takes the place of झ after an Abhyasta, therefore, दद + झि = दद + अति = ददति ॥ So also ददत् (VI. 4. 112).

जक्षित्यादयः षट् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जक्ष, इत्यादयः, षट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तमिति वर्त्तते । जक्ष इत्ययं धातुरित्यादयश्चान्ये षट् धातवो ऽभ्यस्तसंज्ञा भवन्ति । सेयं समानां धातूनामभ्यस्तसंज्ञाविधीयते ॥ जक्षभक्षहसनयोरित्यतः प्रभृति वेवीङ् वेतिना तुल्यइति यावत् ॥

6. So also the six roots beginning with jakshi are called abhyasta.

The word abhyasta is understood here. The verb jakshi and the six verbs that follow it in the Dhâtupâṭha, in all seven verbs, get this designation. These are जक्ष, जागृ, दरिद्रा, चकास्, शास्, दीधी, and वेवी ॥ Pânini has overlooked वेवी and mentions only the first six. By getting the designation of Abhyasta these verbs get acute accent on the first syllable when followed by a sârvadhâtuka Tense-affix not having the intermediate इट् and beginning with a vowel. Thus जाग्रति já-grati, जक्षति jákshati, दरिद्रति dáridrati, चकासति chákâsati, शासति śâśati, दीध्यते dîdhyate, and वेव्यते vevyate. The present participle दीध्यत् is irregularly formed by adding the affix शतृ (अत्) and when so formed it does not take the augment नुम् by VII. 1, 78.

तुजादीनां दीर्घो ऽभ्यासस्य ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुज, आदीनाम्, दीर्घः, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुजादीनामितिप्रकारेआदिशब्दः । कश्च प्रकारः । तुजेर्दीर्घोभ्यासस्य न विहितः, दृश्यते च, ये तथाभूतास्ते तुजादयस्तेषामभ्यासस्य दीर्घः साधुर्भवति ॥

7. In the room of a short vowel of the Reduplicate of the roots तुज् &c, a long is substituted.

There is no list of तुजादि verbs given any where. The word आदि in तुजादि therefore should be construed as "verbs *like* tuj". So that wherever we may find a word having a long vowel in the Reduplicate, we should consider it a valid form. Thus तूतुजानः (तुज् + कानच् III. 2. 106 = तूतुजानः Rig. I. 3. 6). मामहानः, अनड्वान् दाधार, स्वधां मीमाय, स तूताव ॥ This lengthening only takes place in the Vedas before some special affixes, and not every where or in secular literature. As तुताज शबलान् हरीन् ॥

लिटि धातोरनभ्यासस्य ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, धातोः, अनभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचोः द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विर्वचनप्रकरणे छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ लिटि द्विर्वचने जागर्तेर्वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. When the tense-affixes of the Perfect follow, there is reduplication of the root, which is not already reduplicated.

The reduplication is either of the first syllable or of the second syllable according as the root begins with a consonant or a vowel. Thus पच् + णल् = पच् पच् + णल् = पपाच ॥ So also पपाट, प्रोर्णुनाव ॥ In the case of ऊर्णु, Rule III. 1. 36 does not apply, so the Perfect of this word is not formed by adding आम् and the auxiliary verbs कृ, भू and अस्; but regularly. In fact ऊर्णु is regarded as if it was नु ॥ See sûtra III. 1. 36 Vârt. वाच्य ऊर्णोर्णुवद् भावो यङ् प्रसिद्धिः प्रयोजनं, आमश्च प्रतिषेधार्थमेकाचश्चेडुपग्रहात् ॥

Why do we say when लिट् follows? Observe कर्त्ता, हर्त्ता ॥ Why do we say "of a Dhâtu"? Observe सस्वांसो विशृण्विरे, सोममिन्द्राय सुन्विरे ॥ The question arises from the fact that the root (dhâtu) always directly precedes the affixes of the Perfect, no vikaraṇa intervenes as in the case of other tenses. So there was no necessity of using the word dhâtu in the sûtra. To this it is replied that by III. 4. 117, sometimes लिट् is treated as sârvadhâtuka, and then it takes vikaraṇa. As श्रु taking the vikarana श्नु becomes शृणु; (III. 1. 74) this whole *base* is not a dhâtu, therefore when the affixes of Perfect are added there is no reduplication, and we have शृण्विरे ॥ See III. 4. 117.

Why do we say 'of a non-reduplicate'? Observe कृष्णो नोनाव वृषभो यदीदम्। नोनूयतेर्नोनाव, i. e. it is the Perfect Tense of the Intensive verb नोनूय, and is not reduplicated again, यङ् having already caused reduplication. So also संमान्या मरुतः समिमिक्षुः ending in the उस् of the Perfect.

Vârt :—In the Chhandas there is optionally reduplication of the root in the Perfect and other tenses. As आदित्यान् याचिषामहे or ययाचिषामहे; देवतानो ददाति प्रियाणि or ददाति प्रियाणि ॥ मघवा दातु or ददातु, नस्तुतो वीरवद् धातु or दधातु ॥

Vârt :—The root जागृ is optionally reduplicated in the Perfect. As, यो जागार (or जजागार) तमृचः कामयन्ते ॥

सन्यङोः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन् यङोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरनभ्यासस्येति वर्त्तते। सन्यङोरिति च षष्ठ्यन्तमेतत् । सन्नन्तस्य यङन्तस्य चानभ्यासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥

9. Of a non-reduplicate root ending in सन् (Desiderative) or यङ (Intensive) affixes, there is reduplication.

The word सन् यङोः should be construed as genitive dual and not as Locative dual. In the latter case, the meaning would be "when the affixes सन् and यङ् follow, a non-reduplicate root is reduplicated". The difficulty would be that while the root alone would be reduplicated, the augment इट् would not, as in अटिटिषति, अशिशिषति ॥

The phrase धातोरनभ्यासस्य is understood here also. The reduplication is of the first or second syllable, according as the root has an initial consonant or vowel. Thus पच् + सन् (III. 1. 7) पक्ष, reduplicate पिपक्षति (VII. 4. 79). So पत्

पिपतिषति, ऋ—अरिरिषति, उन्द—उन्दिदिषति ॥ So also of यङन्तः—as, पापच्यते (VII. 4. 83), अटाट्यते, यायज्यते, अरार्यते, प्रोर्णोनूयते ॥ If a root is already a reduplicated one, there is no reduplication : as जुगुप्सिषते, लोलूयिषते being the Desiderative forms of जुगुप्स (already formed by svârthika सन् III. 1. 5), and of लोलूय (the Intensive form of लु) ॥ See III. 1. 22.

श्लौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लौ परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥

10. Of a non-reduplicate root there is reduplication when the vikaraṇa ślu (श्लु) follows.

The श्लु is the characteristic sign of the roots of the third class, and causes the elision of the vikaraṇa शप् ॥ The reduplication is of the first or second syllable, according as the root has an initial consonant or a vowel. Thus जुहोति (from हु), बिभेति, जिह्रेति ॥

चङि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ चङि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चङि परतो ऽनभ्यासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वे भवतः ॥

11. Of a non-reduplicate root there is reduplication when the affix चङ् of the Aorist follows.

The reduplication is of the first or second syllable according as the root begins with a consonant or a vowel. Thus अपीपचत्, अपीपठत्, (VII. 4. 93 and 94). So also आटिटत्, आशिशत्, आर्दिदत् ॥ These are aorists of the causative roots पाचि &c.

When the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative (ण्यन्त) verbs पच् &c is to be formed, as here, we should first elide the causative sign णि, then shorten the penultimate vowel, and then reduplicate. Then by VII. 4. 93 the effect would be like as if सन् had followed, and this would not be prohibited by the short vowel being consdered sthânivat. For rule VII. 4. 93 says "Let the effect be as if सन् had followed, on the reduplicate, if followed by a light vowel, of an inflective base to which णि followed by चङ् is affixed; provided there is not the elision of any letter in the pratyâhâra अक् occasioned by the affixing of णि ॥" One of the conditions for the application of this rule is that the reduplicate must be followed by a *light* vowel. We have said above that the long penultimate is to be shortened before चङ् ॥ Now arises the difficulty. Should this light vowel coming in the room of a heavy vowel be considered like the heavy vowel by the rule of sthânivat âdeśa (I. 1. 56), or not ? It should not be considered so, for the reasons given in I. 1. 57. For it was established there that the sthânivadbhâva will arise then only when some operation is to be done to a thing *anterior* to the non-substituted i. e. original vowel. Here no operation is to be applied to something *anterior* to such original (अनादिष्ट) vowel, but to

a form consisting of such substituted (आदिष्ट) vowel. Therefore, the light vowel is not considered non-existent for the purposes of सन्वद्भाव ॥ If this order of operation is not followed, there would arise incongruities. The order must be this: 1st the elision of णि (VI. 4. 51) 2nd the shortening of the penultimate (VII 4. 4) 3rd the reduplication. If the reduplication take place first and the vowel be shortened, then the reduplication having taken place before the substitution of the vowel had taken place, such substitute will now be considered as sthânivad: the *light* vowel being considered as still *heavy*, will prevent the application of सन्वद्भाव ॥ The difficulty will be in the form of आशीशमत्, where the short is ordained after the णि ॥ If this be the order of operations, there will not be the reduplication of the second syllable टि in the word अटिटत्? This is, howwer, done by I. 1. 59. which see.

दाश्वान् साह्वान् मीढ्वांश्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश्वान्, साह्वान्, मीढ्वान्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाश्वान् साह्वान् मीढ्वानित्येते शब्दाश्छन्दसि भाषायां चाविशेषेण निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृञादीनां के द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ चरिचलिपतिवदीनां द्वित्वमच्यक्चाभ्यासस्य ॥ वा० ॥ वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ हन्तेर्घत्वं च ॥ वा० ॥ पाटेर्णिलुक् चोक् च दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य ॥

12. The participles dâśvân, sâhvân and mîḍhvân are irregularly formed without reduplication.

The word दाश्वान् is from the root दाशृ 'to give' with the affix क्वसु (III. 2. 107), here the reduplication and the augment इट् are prohibited irregularly. As दाश्वांसो दाशुषः सुतम् (Rig I. 3, 7). The word साह्वान् is derived from the root सह् 'to endure', by adding the affix क्वसु (III. 2. 107), the irregularity being in lengthening the penultimate, not allowing the augment इट् and the reduplication. Thus साह्वान् बलाहकः ॥ So also मीढ्वान् comes from मिह् 'to sprinkle' with the affix क्वसु (III. 2. 107) the irregularity consisting in non-reduplication, non-application of इट्, the lenthening of the penultimate vowel, and the change of ह into ढ ॥ As मीढ्वस्तोकाय तनयाय मृडय ॥ It is not necessary that these words should be in the singular always, in their plural forms also they do not reduplicate.

Vârt:—Reduplication takes place when कृञ् &c, are followed by the affix क ॥ Thus क्रियते अनेन = कृ + क = चक्रम्, क्लिद् + क = चिक्लिदम् ॥ The affix क comes after कृञ् and क्लिद् with the force of the affix घञ् ॥

Vârt:—The roots चर्, चल्, पत्, and वद् take reduplication when followed by the affix अच् (III. 1. 134) and the reduplicate (abhyâsa) takes the augment आक् ॥ The final consonants of the Abhyâsa (reduplicate) are not elided in these verbs, in order to give scope to the augment, for if the final consonants be elided by VII. 4. 60, then the addition of the augment becomes unnecessary; as there is no difference between the augment and the âdesa (shortening of the vowel) taught in VII. 4. 59. Thus चराचरः, चलाचल, पतापतः, वदावदः ॥

Vârt:—The above vârtika is optional, so we have the forms चरः पुरुषः, चलो रथः, वदो मनुष्यः &c.

Vârt:—The root हन् is reduplicated before the affix अच्, and the augment आक् comes after the Abhyâsa, and घ is the substitute of ह of the Abhyâsa. Thus हन् + अच् = घन् + आक् + हन् + अच् = घनाघनः (The second ह is changed into घ by VII. 3. 55), as in the phrase घनाघनः क्षोभनश्चर्षणीनाम् ॥

Vârt:—The causative root पाटि is reduplicated before the affix अच्, there is elision of णि (sign of the causative), and ऊक् is the augment of the Abhyâsa, and it is lengthened. Thus पाटि + अच् = पाटूपटः ॥

ष्यङः संप्रसारणं पुत्रपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष्यङः, संप्रसारणम्, पुत्र, पत्योः, तत्पुरुषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्त्र पति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोस्तत्पुरुषे समासे ष्यङः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ष्यङः सम्प्रसारणे गौकाक्षायाः पतिषेधः ॥

13. There is vocalisation of the semivowel य् of the affix ष्यङ् (IV. 1. 78) when followed in a Tatpurusha compound, by the words पुत्र and पति ॥

When the words पुत्र and पति are the second members, forming a Tatpurusha compound, there is samprasâraṇa (vocalising the semi-vowels) of the affix ष्यङ् of the preceding. That is य् is changed into इ ॥ Thus करीषस्येव गन्धोऽस्य = करीषगन्धिः (a Bahuvrîhi compound taking the samâsanta affix or rather substitute इ by V. 4. 137) करीषगन्धेरपत्यम् = करीषगन्धि + अण् (IV. 1. 92) = कारीषगन्धः ॥ The feminine of this will be formed by adding ष्यङ् (IV. 1. 78). Thus we have कारीषगन्ध्या (see IV. 1. 78). Now in forming the Tatpurusha compound of this word with पुत्र or पति, the final य will be changed into इ and we have कारीषगन्धीपुत्रः, कारीषगन्धीपतिः ॥ The आ of या becomes merged into इ (VI. 1. 108), and the short इ is lengthened (VI. 3. 139). So also कौमुदगन्धीपुत्रः o कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥

Why do we say "of the affix ष्यङ्"? Observe इभ्यापुत्रः, क्षत्रियापुत्रः ॥

Why do we say "when followed by पुत्र or पति"? Observe कारीषगन्ध्याकुलम्, कौमुदगन्ध्याकुलम् ॥

Why do we say "when forming a Tatpurusha compound"? Observe कारीषगन्ध्यापतिरस्य ग्रामस्य = कारीषगन्ध्यापतिरयं ग्रामः ॥ It is a Bahuvrîhi compound.

The affix ष्यङ् is here the feminine affix य followed by चाप् (आ) (see IV. 1. 77 and 74).

A general maxim relating to all affixes is "an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself: प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहितस्तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम्" ॥ This maxim, however, does not apply in case of feminine affixes, where we have this rule "a feminine affix denotes whenever

it is employed in a rule, a word-form which ends with that affix, but which need not necessarily begin with that to which the affix has been added, but where the word form is subordinate: स्त्रीप्रत्यये चानुपसर्जने न" ॥ Thus we have परमकारीषगन्ध्यायाः पुत्रः = परमकारीषगन्धीपुत्रः and so also परमकारीषगन्धीपतिः ॥ Not so when the word is an upasarjana or subordinate in a compound. As अतिक्रान्ता कारीषगन्ध्याम् = अतिकारीषगन्ध्या, तस्यपुत्रः = अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रः, अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापतिः ॥

This vocalisation takes place when पुत्र and पति alone, not compounded with any other word, stand at the end: not so when a word beginning or ending with these words follows. Thus कारीषगन्ध्यापुत्रकुलं, कारीषगन्ध्यापरमपुत्रः &c.

Though a word ending in ष्यङ् may have may semi-vowels, yet the vocalisation takes place of the affix य (ष्यङ्) only, according to the maxim निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated".

The word संप्रसारण has regulating influence upto VI. 1. 44 inclusive. The rules of vocalisation (change of semi-vowels into vowels) is contained in these sûtras.

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated when पति and पुत्र follow the word गौकाक्ष्य ॥ As गौकाक्ष्यापुत्रः, गौकाक्ष्यापतिः instead of गौकाक्षीपुत्रः &c.

बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धुनि, बहुव्रीहौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ष्यङः संप्रसारणमित्यनुवर्त्तते । बन्धुशब्द उत्तरपदे बहुव्रीहौ समासे ष्यङः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥
वा० ॥ मातच्मातृकमातृषु ॥

14. There is vocalisation of the affix ष्यङ् when the word बन्धु follows in a Bahuvrîhi compound.

Thus कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुरस्य = कारीषगन्धीबन्धुः ॥ So also कौमुदगन्धीबन्धुः ॥

Why do we say "when the compound is a Bahuvrîhi"? Observe कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धुः = कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, which is a Tatpurusha compound. Like the last sûtra, we have here also परमकारीषगन्धीबन्धुः, but अतिकारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुः, कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुधनः, कारीषगन्ध्यापरमबन्धुः ॥

Though the word बन्धुनि is exhibited in the sûtra in the neuter gender, it is in fact a masculine word.

Vârt:—There is vocalisation of ष्यङ् in a Bahuvrîhi compound with मातच्, मातृक and मात optionally: as कारीषगन्धीमातः or कारीषगन्ध्यामातः, कारीषगन्धीमातृकः or कारीषगन्ध्यामातृकः, कारीषगन्धीमाता, कारीषगन्ध्यामाता ॥ The indicatory च of मातच् makes the word take the udâtta on the last syllable (VI. 1. 163), thus debarring the especial accent of the Bahuvrîhi (VI. 2. 1). All Bahuvrîhi compounds ending in ऋ take the samâsânta affix कप्, so मातृ would have become मातृक by force of V. 4. 153, so the separate enumeration of मातृ and मातृक here shows that कप् is also optional.

वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वचि, स्वपि, यजादीनाम्, किति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसारणमिति वर्त्तते । ष्यङ इति निवृत्तम् । वचि । वच परिभाषणे । ब्रुवो वचिरिति च । स्वपि ॥ ञिष्वप् शये । यजादयो, यज देवपूजासंगतिकरणदानेष्वित्यतःप्रभृति आ गणान्तात् । तेषां वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति प्रत्यये परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

15. The semivowels of the roots वच्, स्वप् and यजादि verbs are vocalised when followed by an affix having an indicatory क ॥

The anuvritti of ष्यङ् does not run into this sûtra. The root वच includes the वच परिभाषने of the Adâdi class (II. 54) and the वच् substitute of ब्रू (II. 4. 53) स्वप् is the root ञिष्वप् शये of the Adâdi class (II 59). The यजादि verbs are the last nine roots of the Bhvâdi class viz. यज्, वप्, वह, वस्, वेञ्, व्येञ्, ह्वेञ्, वद् and श्वि ॥ The semivowels of these eleven verbs are changed into the corresponding vowel, when an affix having an indicatory क is added to them. Thus with the Past Participle affixes क्त and क्तवतु we have the following forms:—
1. वच्—उक्तः, उक्तवान्, (VIII. 2. 30). 2 स्वप्—सुप्तः, सुप्तवान् 3 यज्—इष्टः, इष्टवान्, (VIII. 2. 36) 4 वप्—उप्तः, उप्तवान्, 5 वह्—ऊढः, ऊढवान् (VIII. 2. 31, 40, VIII. 3. 13 and VI. 3. 111) 6 वस्—ऊषितः ऊषितवान्, (VII. 2. 56 VIII. 3. 60) 7 वेञ्—उतः, उतवान्, 8 व्येञ्—संवीतः, संवीतवान्, 9 ह्वेञ्—हूतः, हूतवान्, 10 वद्—उदितः, उदितवान्, 11 टुओश्वि—शूनः, शूनवान् ॥

धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे तत्प्रत्यये कार्यं विज्ञायते:—When in a Grammatical rule, an operation (dependant on an affix) is taught with regard to a root (dhâtu) by mentioning particular verbs (dhâtu) specifically, and not by using the word "dhâtu", generally, then the operation takes place only when the root is followed by such an affix as can be added to roots by emunciating the word धातोः ॥ The existence of this maxim is inferred in the formation of the word भ्रौणहत्यम् in VI. 4. 174, which see. Therefore, there is no vocalisation of वच in the following वाच्यति, वाचिकः ॥ Here वाच्यति is formed by adding क्यच् to वाच् (वाचमिच्छति) ॥ वाच् is formed by क्विप् added to वच्, the vowel being lengthened and samprasâraṇa being expressly prevented by Uṇâdi II. 57. Now, it is a general rule that a root taking the affix क्विप्, विट्, or विच् does not lose its character of a dhâtu. Therefore वाच् is a root (धातु), and it ought to take vocalisation before the affix क्यच् ॥ But क्यच् is not enunciated to come after a dhâtu, but after a सुबन्त (सुप आत्मनः क्यच् III. 1. 8) in the rule ordaining its affixing. So also वाचिकः formed by adding ठक् to वाच् (See Vârt. V. 3. 83).

ग्रहिज्यावयिव्यधिवष्टिविचतिवृश्चतिपृच्छतिभृज्जतीनां ङिति च ॥१६॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रहि, ज्या, वयि, व्यधि, वष्टि, विचति, वृश्चति, पृच्छति, भृज्जतीनाम्, ङिति, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रह उपादाने, ज्या वयोहानौ, वेञो वयिः, व्यध ताडने, वश कान्तौ, व्यच व्याजीकरणे, ओव्रश्चू छेदने, प्रच्छ ज्ञीप्सायां, भ्रस्ज पाके, इत्येतेषां धातूनां ङिति प्रत्यये परतश्चकारात्किति च संप्रसारणं भवति । परिभाषा ॥ निष्ठादेशः षत्वस्वरप्रत्ययविधीड्विधिषु सिद्धो वक्तव्यः ॥

16. There is vocalisation of the semi-vowels of the following verbs, when an affix having an indicatory क् or ङ् follows:—ग्रह 'to take', ज्या 'to become old', वेञ् 'to weave', व्यध 'to strike', वश 'to shine', व्यच 'to deceive', व्रश्च 'to cut', प्रच्छ 'to ask', and भ्रस्ज 'to cook, to fry'.

By force of the word 'च' 'and', the anuvritti of ङिति is read into this sûtra. Thus 1. ग्रह—गृहीतः, गृहीतवान् (by क्त and क्तवतु), गृह्णाति (I. 2. 4), जरीगृह्यते (by यङ् of the Intensive). 2. ज्या—जीनः, जीनवान् (VIII. 2. 44 त changed to न), जिनाति (I. 2. 4), the short इ is lengthened by VI. 4. 2 and is shortened again by VII. 3. 80. जेजीयते (यङ्), 3. वयि—The root वेञ् is replaced by वय when लिट् follows (II. 4. 41). This वयि can have no ङित् affix after it, it takes only लिट् terminations, which as we know are कित् (I. 2. 5). The examples, therefore given will be of कित् affixes only. Thus ऊयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ Now arises this question 'why do you enumerate वयि, for is not वेञ् (for which वयि is substituted) already included in यजादि class of verbs given in the last sûtra, and by force of that sûtra, वयि will get samprasârana before कित् affixes", The reply is "वयि is numerated here in order to show that the prohibition of samprasârana with regard to वेञ् as taught in VI. 1. 40, does not apply to its substitute वयि in the Perfect Tense". Thus while the Perfect of वेञ् is ववौ, ववतुः, ववुः, the Perfect of its substitute वयि is उवाय, ऊयतुः and ऊयुः ॥ More over VI. 1. 38 teaches that the य of वय is not vocalised in लिट् affixes, which therefore, implies (jñâpaka) that the other semivowel i. e. व of वय will be vocalised. 4. व्यध—विद्धः, विद्धवान्, and with ङित् affixes विध्यति, वेविध्यते ॥ 5. वश—उशितः, उशितवान्, and with ङित् affixes उष्टः, उशन्ति ॥ 6. व्यच—विचितः विचितवान् विचति वेविच्यते ॥ By a Vârtika under I. 2. 1, the word व्यच is considered to belong to कुटादि class, and therefore all affixes after it, other than those having an indicatory ण्, ञ् or the affix अस्, are considered as ङित्, and therefore, there will be samprasârana before these affixes: as, उद्विचिता, उद्विचितुम्, उद्विचितव्यम् ॥ 7. वृश्च—वृक्णः, वृक्णवान् ॥ How is the final च of व्रश्च changed into क्, for by VIII. 2. 36 च ought to have been changed into ष before the झलादि affix क्त? To this we reply the affix क्त is replaced by न (VII. 2. 42) and as this न is not a झलादि affix, Rule VIII. 2. 36 does not apply. This is done on the following maxim: "The substitute of the Nishthâ should be considered to be siddha or effective when applying the rules relating to the change of a letter into इ, to accent, to affix, and to the addition of the augment इट्". But when च is to be changed into क, the substitute is considered asiddha (not to have taken place). Thus we have the forms वृक्णः &c. Before ङित् affixes we have वृश्चति, वरीवृश्च्यते ॥ 8. प्रच्छ—पृष्टः (VIII. 2. 36), पृष्टवान्, ङित्—पृच्छति, परीपृच्छ्यते ॥ The forms पप्रच्छ and बभ्रज्ज would have been evolved by the simple rules of Reduplication even, without the

application of this rule. But प्रच्छ + नङ् (III. 3. 90) = प्रश्नः ॥ Here there is no vocalisation, because Pânini himself uses the word प्रश्नः in sûtra III. 2. 117 showing that this is the proper form though irregular. 9. भ्रस्ज—भृष्टः (VIII. 2. 36), भृष्टवान्, ङित्—भृज्जति, बरी भृज्ज्यते ॥ The स of भ्रस्ज is changed first into द by झलां जश् झशि (VIII. 4. 53), and then द is changed into ज by स्तोः श्चुना श्चुः (VIII. 4. 40).

लिट्यभ्यासस्योभयेषाम् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, अभ्यासस्य, उभयेषाम्, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उभयेषां वाच्यादीनां ग्रहादीनां च लिटि परतो ऽभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

17. There takes place vocalisation of the semi-vowel of the reduplicate (abhyâsa) of both vachyâdi (VI. 1. 15) and grahâdi (VI. 1. 16) words, when the affixes of लिट् follow.

Thus वच—उवाच, उवचिथ, स्वप्—सुष्वाप, सुष्वपिथ, यज—इयाज, इयजिथ, डुवप्—उवाप, उवपिथ ॥ As regards ग्रहादि verbs; ग्रह—जग्राह, जग्रहिथ (there is no speciality in case of this verb, as these forms would have been evolved without even this rule). ज्या—जिज्यौ, जिज्यिथ, वयि—उवाय, and उवयिथ ; व्यध—विव्याध, विव्यधिथ, वश—उवाश, उवशिथ, व्यच्—विव्याच, विव्यचिथ, व्रश्च—वव्रश्च and वव्रश्चिथ ॥ Some say that with regard to व्रश्च, it is equal whether there existed this present rule or not. For they argue thus, व्रश्च + णल् = व्रश्च + व्रश्च् + अ = व + व्रश्च् + अ (हलादि शेषः VII. 4. 60) = वव्रश्च ॥ To this we reply, this form would be evolved no doubt had this rule not existed. But when this rule is applied, and you make reduplication without first vocalising the र, then you will have to vocalise व by force of this rule. Hence the necessity of this rule with regard to व्रश्च also, for having changed र into ऋ, we have वृव्रश्च् and then change ऋ into अ by VII. 4. 66. Then this अ substitute becomes sthânivat to ऋ (I. 1. 59), and therefore there is no vocalisasion of this व, for rule VI. 1. 37, prevents the vocalisation of a letter standing before one which has already been vocalised. There is no speciality with regards to प्रच्छ and भ्रस्ज verbs.

This vocalisation of the reduplicate is taught with regard to those affixes which are not कित् ॥ With regard to कित् affixes, the Rule VI. 1. 15 will apply. And as the rule of vocalisation is subsequent to that of reduplication in order, therefore by the maxim of परत्व I. 4. 2, vocalisation will take place first and then reduplication, according to the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्ग विज्ञानात्सिद्धम् "occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded by a subsequent rule". Thus वच् + अतुः (which is कित् I. 2. 5) = उच् + अतुः = उच् + उच् + अतुः = ऊचतुः, ऊचुः ॥

Though the phrase उभयेषाम् could have been supplied into this sûtra by the context and the governing scope of the preceding sûtras, its express mention in this sûtra is for the sake of indicating, that the rule of vocalisation supersedes even the rule of हलादिः शेषः VII. 4. 60, the vocalisation must take place at all events. Thus व्यध + णल् = व्य + व्यध + अ ॥ Here by VII. 4. 60, the second consonant य of व्य ought to have been elided, and the equation would have stood व + व्यध् + अ, and there would have been vocalisation of व by this rule. But that is not intended; there is vocalisation of य and we have विव्याध ॥ In fact, the universal maxim of vocalisation is :—"The samprasâraṇa and the operations dependent on it possess greater force than other operations which are simultaneously applicable". संप्रसारणं तदाश्रयं च कार्यम् बलवत् ॥

स्वापेश्चङि ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वापेः, चङि, (सम्प्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वापेरिति स्वपेर्ण्यन्तस्य ग्रहणं तस्य चङि परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

18. Of the causative verb **स्वापि** "to cause one to sleep", there is vocalisation of the semivowel, when the affix **चङ्** of the Reduplicated Aorist follows.

Thus the Aorist of स्वापि is असूषुपत्, असूषुपताम्, असूषुपन् ॥ The vocalisation takes place before reduplication, then there is guṇa of the penultimate short vowel, then this is again shortened by VII. 4. 1, then there is reduplication, and then lengthening of the vowel of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 94. Thus स्वापि + चङ् = सुपि + चङ् = सुप् (VI. 4. 51) + चङ् (VII. 3. 86) = सोप् + चङ् = सुप् + चङ् (VII. 4. 1) = सु + सुप् + चङ् (VI. 1. 11) = सूषुपत् (VII. 4. 94) which with the augment अ becomes असूषुपत् ॥

Why do we say 'when चङ् follows'? Observe स्वाप्यते, स्वापितः ॥ The anuvritti of क्किति has ceased, that of ङिति however is here.

स्वपिस्यमिव्येञां यङि ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपि, स्यमि, व्येञाम्, यङि, (संप्रसारणम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ञिष्वप् शये स्यमु स्वन ध्वन शब्दे, व्येञ् संवरणे, इत्येतषां धातूनां यङि परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

19. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of the verbs **स्वप्** 'to sleep', **स्यम्** 'to shout', and **व्ये** 'to cover', when followed by the affix **यङ्** of the Intensive.

Thus सोषुप्यते, सेसिम्यते, वेवीयते (VII. 4. 25 the short इ is lengthened). Why do we say 'when यङ् follows'? Observe स्वप्नक् formed by नजिङ् III. 2. 172.

न वशः ॥ २० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङीति वर्त्तते । वशेर्धातोर्यङि परतः सम्प्रसारणं न भवति ॥

20. There is not vocalisation of the semi-vowel of **वश**, when the affix **यङ्** follows.

The word यङि is understood here. As वावश्यते, वावश्येते, वावश्यन्ते ॥ Why do we say "when यङ् follows"? Observe उष्टः, उशन्ति ॥ See VI. 1. 16 to which this rule is an exception.

चायः की ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चायः, की ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङीति वर्त्तते । चायृ पूजानिशामनयोरित्येतस्य धातोर्यङि परतः कीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

21. The verb की is substituted for the verb चायृ 'to worship, to observe', when the Intensive affix यङ् follows.

The phrase यङि is understood here. Thus चेकीयते, चेकीयेते, चेकीयन्ते ॥ The exhibition of की in the sûtra with a long ई indicates that there is long vowel even in tenses where यङ् is elided, as चेकीतः ॥ For if the sûtra had enunciated कि with a short इ as the substitute of चाय्, the forms चेकीयत &c would have been still valid. Thus कि + यङ् = चि + कि + य = चे + कि + य = चे + की + य (VII. 4. 25 causing the lengthening of the short इ). But then the Nishṭhâ would have been चेकितः which is wrong.

स्फायः स्फी निष्ठायाम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फायः, स्फी, निष्ठायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फायी ओप्यायी वृद्धावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः स्फीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

22. The स्फी is the substitute of स्फाय 'to swell', when the Nishṭhâ affixes follow.

Thus स्फीतः, स्फीतवान् ॥ Why do we say "when the Nishṭha affixes follow"? Observe स्फातिः formed by क्तिन् ॥ In the phrase स्फाती भवति, the word स्फाती is the feminine of the word स्फाति formed by क्तिन् ॥ The phrase निष्ठायाम् "when the Nishtha follows" governs all the subsequent sûtras up to VI. 1. 29.

स्त्यः प्रपूर्वस्य ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्यः, प्र, पूर्वस्य, (सम्प्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठायामिति वर्त्तते संप्रसारणमिति च । स्फा इत्येतन्न स्वर्यते । स्त्यै ष्ट्यै शब्दसंघातयोर्द्वयोरप्येतयो र्द्वयोः स्त्यारूपमापन्नयोः सामान्येन ग्रहणम् । स्त्या इत्येतस्य प्रपूर्वस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

23. The verb स्त्या (स्त्यै and ष्ट्यै) when preceded by प्र changes its semivowel to a vowel, when a Nishṭhâ affix follows.

The phrases "when the nishthâ follows", and "there is vocalisation" are understood here. The anuvritti of स्फी does not run here. The roots स्त्यै and ष्ट्यै both assume the form स्त्या and are included here. Thus प्र + स्त्या + क्त = प्र + स्ति + त (VI. 1. 108) = प्रस्तीतः (VI. 4. 2), and प्रस्तीतवान् ॥ The त of nishthâ affix would have been changed into न् by VIII. 2. 43 in as much as the root स्त्या has a semivowel and ends in long आ ॥ But by the vocalisation of य, the condition of यण्वत् for the application of VIII. 2. 43, no longer existing, the affix त is not changed to न ॥ But त is optionally changed to म by VIII. 2. 54 as प्रस्तीमः and प्रस्तीमवान् ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by प्र?" Observe संस्त्यानः (VIII. 2 43), संस्त्यानवान् ॥ If it was intended that vocalisation should take place when प्र

singly stood before, then the sûtra could well have run thus प्रस्य: ॥ The use of the word पूर्वस्य implies that the rule applies when प्र stands first, though other upasargas may intervene between it and the root. Thus प्रसंस्तीतः, प्रसंस्तीतवान् ॥ The compound प्रपूर्वस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrîhi = प्रः पूर्वो यस्य धातूपसर्गसमुदायस्य स प्रपूर्व (that which consisting of root and upasarga is preceded by प्र is called प्रपूर्व). Therefore the rule is made applicable to प्रसंस्तीतः &c.

द्रवमूर्त्तिस्पर्शयोः श्यः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रवमूर्त्ति, स्पर्शयोः, श्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रवमूर्त्तौ द्रवकाठिन्ये स्पर्शे वर्त्तमानस्य श्यैङ् गतावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

24. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of the root श्या (श्यै) 'to go' when the nishṭhâ affixes follow, when the sense is "coagulation" or "cold to touch".

The word द्रवमूर्त्ति means hardening of a fluid, by coagulation &c. Thus शीनं घृतं, शीना वसा, शीनं मेदः "a coagulated butter, grease &c". The त of nishṭhâ is changed to न by VIII. 2. 47. But when the sense is that of 'cold', the त is not changed; as शीतं वर्त्तते, शीतो वायुः, शीतमुदकम् ॥ The word शीत is here used both as a noun meaning 'cold weather &c', and an adjective denoting 'cold'. There is no vocalisation when the sense is not that of 'coagulation' or 'cold', as संश्यानो वृश्चिकः 'the rolled up scorpion'. The short इ is lengthened in शीन &c, by VI. 4. 2.

प्रतेश्च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतेः, च, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्य इति वर्त्तते । प्रतेरुत्तरस्य श्यायतेर्निष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

25. There is vocalisation of श्या preceded by the upasarga प्रति, when the nishṭhâ affixes follow.

Thus प्रतिशीनः प्रतिशीनवान् ॥ This sûtra applies to cases where the words need not have the meaning of "coagulation" or "cold".

विभाषाऽभ्यवपूर्वस्य ॥२६॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अभि, अव, पूर्वस्य, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्य इति वर्त्तते । अभि अव इत्येवंपूर्वस्य श्यायतेर्निष्ठायां विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

26. There is optionally the vocalisation of श्या followed by the Nishṭhâ affixes, when the upasargas अभि and अव precede it.

Thus अभिशीनम् or अभिश्यानम् घृतं, अवशीनम् or अवश्यानम् वृश्चिकः ॥ This option applies even when the word means "coagulation" and "cold". As अवशीनं or अवश्यानं घृतं, मेदः ॥ अवशीतो or अवश्यानो वायुः, &c. अवशीतं or अवश्यानमुदकं ॥

The पूर्व in this sûtra serves the same purpose as in VI. 1. 23. Thus अभिसंशीनं or अभिसंश्यानं, अवसंशीनं, अवसंश्यानं ॥ According to the author of Siddhânta Kaumudi, the word पूर्व shows that it is a vyavasthita vibhâshâ, hence there is no option allowed when अभि and अव are in the middle, as, समभिश्यानं, समवश्यानं ॥ Here we cannot have the alternative forms समभिशीनं &c.

श्रृतं पाके ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रृतम्, पाके, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेत्यनुवर्त्तते । श्रा पाके इत्येतस्य धातोर्ण्यन्तस्याण्यन्तस्य च पाके ऽभिधेये क्तप्रत्यये परतः श्रृभावो निपात्यते विभाषा ॥

27. Optionally श्रृतं is formed in the sense of 'cooked', by the vocalisation of the semivowel of श्रा before the nishṭhâ affix क्त ॥

The word विभाषा is understood here. The roots श्रै 'to cook' of the Bhvadi class, and श्रा 'to cook' of the Adâdi class, and श्रा 'to cook' of the Bhvâdi sub-class Ghaṭâdi, are meant here. In all these, श्रृ replaces श्रा, whether causative or not. Thus श्रृतं क्षीरं, श्रृतं हविः ॥ This is a vyavasthita vivhâshâ; so that श्रा is invariably changed to श्रृ when referring to क्षीर and हवि, but not anywhere else. Thus श्राणा यवागूः, श्रपिता यवागूः (VII. 3. 36 and VI. 4. 92). This word does not take double causative though the sense may require it. As श्रपितं क्षीरं देवदत्तेन यज्ञदत्तेन "Devadatta through Yajñadatta has caused the milk to be cooked". The श्रा is intransitive. When the sense is that of Reflexive, or Causative, there the form श्रृत is to be used. As श्रृतं क्षीरं स्वयमेव, श्रृतं क्षीरं देवदत्तेन ॥

प्यायः पी ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्यायः, पी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेत्येव । ओप्यायी वृद्धावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां विभाषा पीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

28. पी is optionally the substitute of the root प्याय् 'to increase' before the Nishṭhâ affixes.

The root ओप्यायी वृद्धौ belongs to Bhvâdi class. The indicatory ओ shows that the affixes त and तवत् are changed into न and नवत् (VIII. 2. 45). Thus पीनं मुखम्, पीनौ बाहू, पीनमुरः ॥ The option here is also a regulated option (vyavasthita-vibhâshâ). The substitution takes place *invariably* when the root is without upasarga, and *never* when it is preceded by an upasarga. Thus प्रप्यानः. आप्यानश्चन्द्रमाः ॥ The substitution, however, must take place when the preposition आङ् precedes the root, and the words अन्धु and ऊधस् are in composition: as आपीनोन्धुः, आपीनमूधः ॥

लिड्यङोश्च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिट्, यङोः, च, (पी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेति निवृत्तम् । प्यायः पीत्येतच्चशब्देनानुकृष्यते । लिटि यङि च परतः प्यायः पीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

29. There is substitution of पी for प्याय् when the affixes of the Perfect (लिट्) and the Intensive (यङ्) follow.

The anuvritti of the word विभाषा ceases. The phrase प्यायः पी of the last sûtra is drawn into this by force of the word च 'and'; thus आपिप्ये, आपिप्याते, आपिप्यिरे ॥ The substitution of पी a subsequent rule, would have debarred reduplication which precedes it in order. The reduplication, however, takes place after the substitution, by force of the maxim of पुनः प्रसङ्ग &c men-

tioned in VI. 1. 17. Thus पी + लिट् = पि + पी + त = पि + प्य + ए (VI. 4. 82 the य being substituted) = आपिप्ये with the affix आ. So also in the Intensive, as आपेपीयते, आपेपीयेते, आपेपीयन्ते ॥

विभाषा श्वेः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, श्वेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिड्यङोरिति वर्त्तते संप्रसारणमिति च । लिटि यङि च श्वयतेर्धातोर्विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ।

30. There is optionally the vocalisation of the semivowel of श्वि before the affixes of the Perfect and the Intensive.

The phrases लिड् यङोः and सम्प्रसारणं are to be read into this sûtra. Thus शुशाव or शिश्वाय, शुशुवतुः or शिश्वियतुः ॥ So also in the Intensive as शोशूयते or शेश्वीयते ॥ The root श्वि would not have taken vocalisation before यङ् by any previous rule, this sûtra teaches optional vocalisation. The root would have taken vocalisation before लिट्, which is a कित् affix, invariably by VI. 1. 15, this sûtra modifies that by making the substitution optional. In the alternative, when the root does become vocalised, the reduplicate is also not vocalised in spite of VI. 1. 17. This explains the form शिश्वाय, which by VI. 1. 17 would have been शुश्वाय ॥ श्वि + णल् = (श् उइ + णल् VI. 1. 30) = शु + णल् (VI. 1. 108) = शु + शु + अ (VI. 1. 8) = शुशाव ॥

णौ च संश्चङोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ, च, सन्, चङोः, (संप्रसारणम्,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा श्वेरिति वर्त्तते । सन्परे चङ्परे च णौ परतः श्वयतेर्धातोर्विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

31. There is optionally the vocalisation of the semivowel, in the causative of श्वि, when followed by the Desiderative सन् and the Aorist चङ् affix.

The phrase विभाषा श्वेः is understood here. In forming the Desiderative and the Reduplicated Aorist forms of the Causative of श्वि, there is optional vocalisation. Thus शुशावयिषति or शिश्वाययिषति ॥ So also in the Reduplicated Aorist चङ्, as अशूशवत् or अशिश्वयत् ॥ By the maxim संप्रसारणं संप्रसारणाश्रयं च बलीयो भवति (see sûtra VI. 1. 17), the antaranga substitution of Vriddhi &c is superseded by the samprasâraṇa and the subsidiary operations relating to it here. The vṛiddhi and the substitntion of आव take place *after* the samprasâraṇa has taken place. The sûtra VII. 4. 80 teaching the substitution of ई for the उ of the reduplicate, when सन् follows, shows by implication that the substitution caused by णि is sthânivat though it itself does not cause reduplication (I. 1. 59). Thus श्वि + णि = श्वै + इ = श्वाय् + इ = श्वाय ॥ In reduplicating श्वायि we cannot form श्वाश्वाय, but must consider the substitute equal to the original इ of श्वि and must reduplicate it. We thus get शिश्वाययिषति ॥ In the case of vocalisation, the rules of Vriddhi &c are postponed. Thus श्वि + णि + सन् (VI. I. 108) = शु + णि + सन् = शौ + इ + सन् = शाव् + इ + इट् + सन् = शावे + इट् + सन् = शावयि + सन् ॥ Here we requ-

ire reduplication. Here the substitute आव् in शाव् though not *caused* by सन्, is treated sthânivat under I. 1. 59 to उ, which is carried in reduplication. Similarly the Aorist: श्वि + णि + चङ् = शु + इ + अ = शु + शु + इ + अ = शु + शौ + इ + अ = शु + शाव् + इ + अ = शु + शव् + इ + अ (VII. 4. 1) = शु + शव् + ० + अ (VI. 4. 51) = अशूशवत् (VII. 4. 94)

ह्वः संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्वः, संप्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णौ च संश्चङोरिति वर्त्तते । सन्परे चङ्परे च णौ परतो ह्वः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

32. There is the vocalisation of the semivowel of the causative of *hve* (ह्वे) before the Desiderative and the Reduplicated Aorist affixes.

The whole of the last sûtra is to be read into this sûtra. Thus जुहावयिषति and जुहावयिषतः, जुहावयिषन्ति; अजूहवत्, अजूहवताम् and अजूहवन् ॥ The root ह्वा does not take the augment य required by VII. 3. 37 before the affix णि, because the Samprasârana rule is stronger. The repetition of the word संप्रसारण in this sûtra, though its anuvritti was present, indicates that the force of the word विभाषा has ceased. Though this and the next sûtra could well have been made one, their separation shows that the samprasârana does not take place when another affix, not causing reduplication, intervenes. As ह्वायकमिच्छति = ह्वायकीयति; the Desiderative of this verb is जिह्वायकीयिषति ॥

अभ्यस्तस्य च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यस्तस्य, च, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्व इति वर्त्तते, तदभ्यस्तस्य चेत्यनेन व्यधिकरणम्, अभ्यस्तस्य यो ह्वयतिः, कश्चाभ्यस्तस्य ह्वयतिः, कारणं, तेनाभ्यस्तकारणस्य ह्वयतेः प्रागेव द्विर्वचनात्संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

33. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of ह्वा in the reduplicated form, in both the syllables.

The abhyasta means the reduplicate and the reduplicated, both the syllables. The vocalisation takes place before reduplication. Thus जुहाव, जोहूयते, and जुहूषति ॥ This and the last sûtra are one, in the original of Pânini, they have been divided into two by the authority of a Vârtika.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्व इति वर्त्तते । छन्दसि विषये ह्वयतेर्धातो र्बहुलं संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

34. In the Chhandas, the semivowel of this root is diversely vocalised.

Thus हुवे or ह्वयामि, as इन्द्राग्नी हुवे 'Invoke Indra and Agni'. देवीं सरस्वतीं हुवे ॥ The form हुवे is Atmanepada, Present tense, 1st Pers. sing. the vikarana शप् is elided, then there is vocalisation and substitution of उवङ् ॥ So also ह्वयामि मरुतः शिवान्, ह्वयामि विश्वान् देवान् ॥ So also हवः as श्रुधीहवम् (Rig I. 2. 1.) 'hear the invocation'.

चायः की ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चायः, की ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुलं छन्दसीति वर्त्तते । चायतेर्द्धातोश्छन्दसि विषये बहुलं कीत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

35. For चाय् is diversely substituted की in the Chhandas.

Thus विधुना निचिक्युः, नान्यं चिक्युर्न निचिक्युरन्यम् ॥ These are forms ending in the affix उस् of the Perfect. Sometimes there is no substitution. As अग्निज्योतिर्निचाय्यः ॥

अपस्पृधेथामानृचुरानृहुश्चिच्युषेतित्याजश्राताः श्रितमाशीराशीर्त्ताः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपस्पृधेथाम्, आनृचुः, आनृहुः, चिच्युषे, तित्याज, श्राताः, श्रितम्, आशीः, आशीर्ताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपस्पृधेथाम् आनृचुः आनृहुः चिच्युषे तित्याज, श्राताः, श्रितम्, आशीः, आशीर्तः, एतेनिपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

36. In the Chhandas, the following irregular forms are met with :—अपस्पृधेथाम्, आनृचुः, आनृहुः, चिच्युषे, तित्याज, श्राताः, श्रितम्, आशीः and आशीर्तः ॥

The word छन्दसि is understood here. From the root स्पर्द्ध 'to challenge', is formed अपस्पृधेथाम् being the Imperfect (लङ्), 2nd Pers. Dual, Atmanepada: there is reduplication of the root, vocalisation of र्, and the elision of अ irregularly. As, इन्द्रश्च विष्णो यदपस्पृधेथाम् ॥ In secular language the form is अस्पर्धेथाम् ॥ Some say, it is derived from स्पर्द्ध with the preposition अप, the vocalisation of र, the elision of अ, and the non-prefixing of the augment अट् in the Imperfect (VI. 4. 75). The counter-example of this will be अपास्पर्द्धेथाम् ॥ From अर्च and अर्ह 'to respect, to worship', are derived आनृचुः and आनृहुः in the Perfect before the 3rd per. pl. उस्, there being vocalisation of र and the elision of अ irregularly. Then there is reduplication, then ऋ changed to अ, then the lengthening of this अ, then the addition of the augment न, as: अर्च् + उस् = ऋच् + उस् = ऋ + ऋच् + उस् = अ + ऋच् + उस् (VII. 4. 66) = आ + ऋच् + उस् (VII. 4. 70) = आ + न् + ऋच् + उस् (VII. 4. 71) = आनृचुः ॥ The irregularity consists in the samprasârṇa with the elision of अ ॥ Thus यथा अर्कमानृचुः, न वसून्यानृहुः ॥ The secular forms will be आनर्चुः, आनर्हुः ॥ The form चिच्युषे is the Perfect 2nd per. sing. of the root च्युङ् 'to go': there is vocalisation of the reduplicate, and the non-addition of the augment इट् before the affix से ॥ This is the irregularity. The regular form is चुच्युविषे ॥ The form तित्याज is the Perfect of त्यज्, the vocalisation of the reduplicate is the irregularity. The regular form is तत्याज ॥ From the root श्रीञ् 'to cook', is derived श्राता before the Nishṭhâ affix, श्री changed to श्रा irregularly. As श्रातास्त इन्द्रसोमाः ॥ The form श्रितं is also derived from the same root by shortening the vowel with the same affix. As सोमो गौरी अधिश्रितः, श्रिता नो गृहाः ॥ Some say the श्रा substitution of श्री takes place when the word refers to सोम, in the plural, and श्रि when it refers to other

than सोम ॥ Sometimes the word आतः is seen in the singular, referring to objects other than सोम । Thus यदि आतो जुहोतन ॥ In fact, the exhibition of the word आताः in the plural in the sûtra is not absolutely necessary. The words आशीर् and आशीर्त्तः are from the same root श्री, with the prefix आङ् and taking the affixes क्विप् and क्त respectively. Before these श्री is replaced by शीर्, and the non-addition of न in the Nishṭhâ is irregular. As, तामाशीरा दुहन्ति आशीर्त्त ऊर्जम्, क्षीरैर्मध्यत आशीर्त्तः ॥

न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, संप्रसारणे, सम्प्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ संप्रसारणे परतः पूर्वस्य यणः संप्रसारणं न भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऋचि त्रेरुत्तरपदादिलोपश्छन्दसि ॥ वा० ॥ रयेर्मतौ बहुलम् ॥

37. When a semivowel hase been once vocalised, there is no vocalisation of the other semivowel that may precede it in the same word.

Thus व्यध्; has two semi-vowels व् and य्; when य् is once vocalised into इ, the preceding व will not be vocalised into उ ॥ Thus we have विद्धः ॥ From व्यच्—विचितः, व्येञ्—संवीतः ॥ Though the rule of vocalisation does not specify what particular semivowel is to be vocalised, yet according to the maxim that the operation is to be performed on the letter nearest to the operator, the second semivowel in the above cases is vocalised and the first is not, by force of this rule. Had the first semi-vowel been vocalised, then there would be no scope for this sûtra, because then no semi-vowel will be found *preceding* a vocalised letter. This sûtra is a jñapaka that the vocalisation commences with the second of the conjunct semi-vowels.

Though the anuvritti of संप्रसारण was understood here, the repetition of this word shows that the prohibition of double vocalisation in the same word applies even when the semivowels are not contiguous. Thus by VI. 1. 133 there is vocalisation of the word युवन्, the व being changed to उ, the य is not changed as यूना ॥ It might be objected that when the उ of यु, and उ the samprasâraṇa of व coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long ऊ for the two उ's and this is sthânivat to the original, the य and व् of युवन् should be considered in fact as contiguous and not separated by an intervening letter, and therefore, the explanation given above does not hold good; we reply. The substitution of one long vowel for two vowels, is not considered sthânivat (See I. 1. 58). Even though it be considered as sthânivat, it is still a separating letter.

Vart:—There is vocalisation of the semivowel of त्रि when followed by ऋच्, and there is elision of the ऋ of ऋच्, when it refers to Metres. As तिस्र ऋचो यस्मिन्=तृचं सूक्तं ॥ तृचं साम ॥ The word तृच् takes the samâsânta affix अ by V. 4. 74. Why do we say when referring to a metre? Observe त्र्यृचं कर्म ॥

Vârt:—In the Chhandas there is diversely vocalisation of the semi-vowel of रयि followed by the affix मतुप as रयि + मत् = रइ + मत् = र + इ + मत् = र + इ + वत् (VIII. 2. 15) = रेवत्; as, आ रेवानेतु नो विशः ॥ Sometimes it does not take place, as रयिमान् पुष्टिवर्द्धनः ॥ The म here is not changed to व as required by VIII. 2. 15.

Vârt:—There is vocalisation of कक्ष्या before मत् when a Name is meant: as कक्षीवन्तं य औशिजः ॥ This Vârtika is unnecessary. See VIII. 2. 12 where the form कक्षीवत् is given.

लिटि वयो यः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, वयः, यः (संप्रसारणम् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न संप्रसारणमित्यनुवर्त्तते । लिटि परतो वयो यकारस्य संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

38. In the substituted root वय (II. 4. 41), the य in the Perfect is not vocalised.

The phrase न सम्प्रसारणं is understood here. Thus उवाय, ऊयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ The word लिट् is employed in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sûtras, this one could have done well without it even.

वश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां किति ॥३९॥ पदानि ॥ वः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, किति॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्य वयो यकारस्य किति लिटि परतो वकारादेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

39. Before the tense-affixes of the Perfect that have an indicatory क (I. 2. 5), for the य् of वय् may optionally be substituted a व् ॥

Thus ऊयतुः or ऊवतुः, ऊवुः or ऊयुः ॥ According to Pâtanjali, the phrase वश्चास्य of this sûtra could have been dispensed with; this much would have been enough:—अन्यतरस्यां किति वेञः ॥ Thus वे + अतुस् = वा + वा + अतुस् = ववतुः and ववुः (the vocalisation being prohibited). In the alternative:—वा + अतुस् = उ + अतुस् = उ + उवङ् + अतुस् (VI. 1. 77) = ऊवतुः, ऊवुः ॥ Here there is vocalisation. In the case of वय् substitute, the य is never vocalised, so we have ऊयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ Thus all the three forms have been evolved without using वश्चास्य ॥

वेञः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वेञः,(संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटीत्यनुवर्त्तते । वेञ् तन्तुसंतानइत्यस्य धातोर्लिटि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

40. The semivowel of वे 'to weave' is not vocalised in the Perfect.

Thus ववौ, ववतुः, ववुः ॥ This root belongs to यजादि class and would have been vocalised before कित् affixes by VI. 1. 15; and before non-कित् affixes the Reduplicate syllable of the Perfect would have been vocalised by VI. 1. 17. Both vocalisations are prohibited here.

ल्यपि च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्यपि, च,(संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेञ इत्यनुवर्त्तते । ल्यपि च परतो वेञः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

41. The semivowel of वे is not vocalised when the Participial affix ल्यप् follows.

Thus प्रवाय, उपवाय ॥ The separation of this sûtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtras, into which the anuvritti of ल्यप् only runs.

ज्यश्च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्यः, च, (संप्रसारणम् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीत्येव । ज्या वयोहानाविन्यस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

42. The semivowel of ज्या 'to grow old' is not vocalised when the affix ल्यप् follows.

Thus प्रज्याय, उपज्याय ॥

व्यश्च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यः, च, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीत्येव । व्येञ् संवरणइत्येतस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

43. The semivowel of व्या (व्ये) 'to cover' is not vocalised when the affix ल्यप् follows.

As प्रव्याय, उपव्याय ॥ The separation of this sûtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, in which the anuvritti of व्ये runs.

विभाषा परेः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, परेः, (सम्प्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि च व्यश्चेत्यनुवर्त्तते । परेरुत्तरस्य व्येञित्येतस्य धातोर्ल्यपि परतो विभाषा संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

44. The vocalisation may optionally take place when व्ये preceded by परि takes the affix ल्यप् ॥

Thus परिवीय यूपम् or परिव्याय ॥ The augment तुक् presented by VI. 1. 71 is debarred by VI. 4. 2. which causes the lengthening of the vowel: since VI. 4. 2 is subsequent to VI. 1. 71.

आदेच उपदेशे ऽशिति ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, एचः, उपदेशे, अशिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातो रिति वर्त्तते । एजन्तो यो धातुरुपदेशे तस्याकारादेशो भवति शिति तु प्रत्यये न भवति ॥

45. In a root, which in the system of grammatical instruction (i. e. in the Dhâtupâṭha), ends with a diphthong (ए, ऐ, ओ and औ), there is the substitution of आ for the diphthong, provided that no affix with an indicatory श् follows it.

The word धातोः is to be read into this sûtra from VI. 1. 8. Thus ग्लै—ग्लाता, ग्लातुम्, ग्लातव्यम्, शो—निशाता, निशातुम्, निशातव्यम् ॥ Why do we say ending with an एच् (diphthong)? Observe कर्त्ता from कृ, and हर्त्ता from हृ ॥ Why do we say in upadeśa or Dhâtupâtha? Observe चेता, स्तोता where चे and स्तो are not the forms taught in the first enunciation of the root in the Dhâtupâtha, but are secondary forms. Why do we say, before non-शित् affixes? Observe ग्लै-।-शप् + तिप् = ग्लायति, म्लायति ॥ Exception is, however, made in the case of the affix एश् of the Perfect: as जग्ले, मम्ले ॥ This is explained by interpreting the word शित् as शिशादि, that is the affixes having an indicatory श in the beginning: एश् has श् at the end. This is done on the maxim यस्मिन् विधिस्तदादावल् ग्रहणे "when a term which denotes a letter is exhibited in a rule in the form of the Locative

case, and qualifies some thing else which likewise stands in the Locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question and not as ending whith it".

The word अशिति is an example of प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः. a simple prohibition of a contingent case. Therefore, the substitution of आ for एच् vowels, is not caused by the affixes that follow, but must take place prior to the occasion for the application of the affixes arises. Thus III. 1. 136 ordains क after roots ending in आ; so that ग्लै and म्लै are presupposed to end in आ when applying this affix: thus सुग्लः, सुम्लः ॥ Similarly byIII. 3. 128 we apply युच् to ग्लै and म्लै by presupposing it as आदन्त roots: as सुग्लानः, सुम्लानः ॥

The word आ is understood in all the subsequent sûtras upto VI. 1. 57

न व्यो लिटि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, व्यः, लिटि, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्येञ् इत्येतस्य धातोर्लिटि परत आकारादेशो न भवति ॥

46. There is not the substitution of आ for the Diphthong of the root व्ये when the affixes of the Perfect follow.

Thus संविव्याय, संविव्ययिथ ॥ The reduplicate of the Perfect is vocalised here by VI. 1. 17. The Vriddhi in संविव्याय takes place by VII. 2. 115 before the णित् affix णल् ॥

स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्घञि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फुरति, स्फुलत्योः, घञि, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेच इति वर्त्तते। स्फुर स्फुल चलनइत्येतयोर्द्धात्वोरेचः स्थाने घञि परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

47. In the roots स्फुर् and स्फुल् 'to move', there is the substitution of the आ for the diphthong when the affix घञ् follows.

Thus विस्फारः instead of विस्फोरः, and विस्फालः instead of विस्फोलः ॥ By VIII. 3. 76, the स is optionally changed to ष after वि, as विष्फारः, and विष्फालः ॥

क्रीङ्जीनां णौ ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री, इङ्, जीनाम्, णौ, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डुक्रीञ् द्रव्यविनिमये, इङ् अध्ययने, जि जये, इत्येतेषां धातूनामेचः स्थाने णौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

48. The substution of आ for the diphthong takes place in the causatives of the roots क्री 'to by', इ 'to study' and जि 'to conquer.'

Thus क्रापयति, अध्यापयति and जापयति ॥ The augment पु is added by VII. 3. 36, since these roots end in long आ ॥

सिध्यतेरपारलौकिके ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिध्यतेः, अपारलौकिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णाविति वर्त्तते । षिधु हिंसासंराद्ध्यो रित्यस्य धातोरपारलौकिकेर्थे वर्त्तमानस्यैचः स्थाने णौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

49. The substitution of आ takes place for the diphthong in the causative of सिध्, when it does not refer to the next life.

The word पारलौकिक is derived form परलोक 'the next world' by adding the affix ठञ् with the force of 'for the sake of' (V. 1. 109). The double Vriddhi takes place by VII. 3. 20. The sense of the word सिध् must refer to अज्ञान or non-intelligent things for the purposes of this substitution. Thus अन्नं साधयति, ग्रामं साधयति ॥ Why do we say when not referring to the next world? See तपस्तापसं सेधयति, स्वान्येवनं कर्माणि सेधयन्ति ॥ The force of सिध is here that of knowledge, तापसः सिध्यति = ज्ञानविशेषमासादयति ॥ The ascetic acquires certain knowledge through austerities, the knowledge so acquired produces its result in the next world (परलोके) i. e. the next life, therefore, the साधन of the ascetic is for the sake of the next life, and so there is no substitution of आ for ए ॥ Why the substitution does not take place here: अन्नं साधयति, ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दास्यामि 'he causes food to be prepared for the purpose of giving to the Brahmanas'. Here though the gift of the food produces effect in the next world, yet as that is the effect of दान and not of the verb सिध्, the substitution does take place. When the verb सिध् *directly* and not through the mediation of another action, producсs pâraloukika effect, then the substitution does not take place. The verb सिध् here belongs to the Divâdi class and not to the Bhvâdi, as the form सिध्यति in the sûtra shows it.

मीनातिमिनोतिदीङां ल्यपि च ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ मीनाति, मिनोति, दीङाम्, ल्यपि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेच उपदेशऽशिति वर्त्तते । मीञ् हिंसायाम्, डुमिञ् प्रक्षेपणे, दीङ् क्षये, इत्येतेषां धातूनां ल्यपि विषये चकारादेचश्च विषये उपदेशएव प्राक् प्रत्ययोत्पत्तेरलोन्त्यस्य स्थाने आकारादेशो भवति ॥

50. And there is substitution of आ for the finals of मी 'to hurt', मि 'to scatter', and दी 'to decay' when the affix ल्यप् follows, as well as before those affixes which demand this substitution for the diphthong.

By force of the word च 'and' in the sûtra, the substitution takes place of the diphthongs also of these verbs before all affixes other than शित्, and this substitution takes place, before the occasion for the applying of the affixes arises (उपदेशावस्थायाम् आत्वं भवति) ॥ So that these verbs should be understood as if they were enunciated with an आ, so that all rules of affixes relating to आ will apply to them. Thus प्रमाता, प्रमातव्यम्, प्रमातुम्, प्रमाय, निमाता, निमातुम्, निमातव्यम्, निमाय, उपदाता, उपदातव्यम्, उपदातुम्, उपदाय ॥ The substitution of आ being understood to have taken place in the very उपदेश (in the dhâtupâtha) of

these roots, the affixes relating to roots ending in इ or ई do not apply to these at all. Thus उपदायो वर्त्तते, ईषदुपदानं, formed by घञ् and युच् by taking दी = दा and adding these affixes (III. 3. 128 and III. 3. 18) and not the affixes अच् (III. 3. 56) and खल् (III. 3. 126).

विभाषा लीयतेः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, लीयतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीति वर्त्तते, आदेच उपदेशइति च । लीङ् श्लेषणइति दिवादिः ली श्लेषणइति क्र्यादिस्तयोरु-भयोरपि यका निर्देशः स्मर्यते । लीयतर्द्धातोर्ल्यपि च एचश्च विषये उपदेशएवालोन्त्यस्य स्थाने विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निमीमिलियां खलचोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

51. There is optionally the substitution of आ for the final of ली 'to adhere', in the very dhâtupâṭha, when the affix ल्यप् follows or such an affix as would demand this substitution of the diphthong.

The final of ली will take guṇa substitution before शित् affixes, and will become ले, this incipient diphthong ए is changed to आ by this rule. The same is the case with all the roots subsequently taught, thus खिद् will be खेद्, and then ए changed to आ, गुर् = गोर् and ओ changed to आ &c. Therefore we have employed the anuvritti of एच् 'diphthong' in all sûtras. The words ल्याप and आदेच उपदेश are understood here. The roots ली belonging to Divâdi and Kriyâdi are both included here. Thus विलाता, विलातुम्, विलातव्यम्, विलाय, विलेता विलेतुम्, विलेतव्यम् and विलीय ॥

Vârt:—The आ substitution does not take place when the affix अच् (III. 3. 56, III. 1. 134) and खल् (III. 3. 126) come after नि, मि, मी and ली : as, ईषन्निमयः, निमयो वर्त्तते । ईषत्प्रमयः, प्रमयो वर्त्तते । ईषद् विलयः, विलयो वर्तते ॥

The ली invariably takes आ substitution when the sense is that of 'showing respect,' 'deceiving' or 'insulting'. As कस्त्वामुल्लापयते, श्येनो वर्त्तिकामुल्लापयते ॥ The option allowed by this aphorism is a restricted option (vyavasthita-vibhâshâ) The substitution of आ for the final of ई is *optional* when the sense of the root is not that of 'showing respect', 'subduing' or 'deceiving'. But when it has any one of these three senses, the substitution is *compulsory*. See I. 1. 70.

खिदेश्छन्दसि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ खिदेः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेति वर्त्तते । खिद दैन्यइत्यस्य धातोरेचः स्थानेःछन्दसि विषये विभाषा आकार आदेशो भवति ॥

52. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the verb खिद् 'to suffer pain', in the Chhandas.

The word विभाषा is understood here. Thus चित्तं चिखाद or चिखेद ॥ In secular literature we have चित्तं खेदयति ॥

अपगुरो णमुलि ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप, गुरः, णमुलि, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुरी उद्यमनइत्यस्य धातोरपपूर्वस्य णमुलि परत एचः स्थाने विभाषा आकार आदेशो भवति ।

53. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the root गुर 'to exert' when preceded by the preposition अप and taking the affix णमुल् ॥

The affix णमुल् forming the Absolutive Participle is added by III. 4. 22, and the word formed by it is repeated. Thus अपगारमपगारम् or अपगोरमपगोरम् ॥ So also this affix is added by III. 4. 53: as, अस्यपगारं युध्यन्ते or अस्यपगोरं युध्यन्ते "they are fighting with raised swords".

चिस्फुरोर्णौ ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चि, स्फुरोः, णौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिञ् स्फुर इत्येतयोर्द्धात्वोर्णौ परत एचः स्थाने विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ॥

54. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the roots चि and स्फुर when in the Causative.

Thus चापयति, चाययति (VII. 3. 36 for the addition of पु्) so also स्फारयति or स्फारयति ॥

प्रजने वीयतेः ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजने, वीयतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णाविति वर्त्तते । वी गतिप्रजनकान्त्यसनखादनेषु इत्यस्य धातोः प्रजने वर्त्तमानस्य णौ परतो विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ।

55. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the root वी in the causative, when meaning 'to conceive an embryo'.

The root वी Adâdi 39 means 'to go, to conceive, to shine, to eat, and to desire'. The substitution takes place when it means 'to impregnate or conceive'. Thus पुरो वातो गाः प्रवापयति or प्रवाययति = गर्भं माहयति ॥ The word प्रजन means the receiving of the embryo which in course of time will lead to the birth of a child.

बिभेतेर्हेतुभये ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिभेतेः, हेतु भये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णाविति वर्त्तते विभाषेति च । हेतुरिह पारिभाषिकः स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजकस्ततो यद्भयम्, स यस्य भयस्य साक्षाद्धेतुः, तद्भयं हेतुभयम् । तत्र वर्त्तमानस्य ञिभी भयइत्यस्य धातोर्णौ परतो विभाषा आकारादेशो भवति ॥

56. There is optionally the substitution of आ for the diphthong of the root भी 'to fear', in the Causative, when the fear is produced directly through the agent of the causative.

The words णौ and विभाषा are understood here. The word हेतु in the sûtra is the technical हेतु meaning स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजक (I. 4. 54 and 55). When the

Hetu Agent himself is directly the cause of the fear, that fear is called the हेतुभय "the fear caused by the Hetu". Thus मुण्डो भापयते (VII. 3. 36) or भीषयते (VII. 3. 40). So also जटिलो भापयते or भीषयते ॥ This root takes the affixes of the Atmanepada, by I. 3. 68; and the augment षु is added by VII. 3. 40, which does not come when there is आ substitution, for the भी in VII. 3. 40 is equal to भी + ई i. e. भी ending in ई; and means भी ending in ई takes the augment षु ॥

Why do we say 'when the agent of the causative is the producer of the fear'? Observe कुञ्चिकयैनं भाययति देवदत्तः ॥ Here the fear is produced from the कुञ्चिका and not from Devadatta the Agent.

नित्यं स्मयतेः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, स्मयतेः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ णाविति वर्त्तते. हेतुभयइति च । नित्यग्रहणाद्विभाषाति निवृत्तम्। स्मिङ् ईषद्धसनइत्यस्य धातोर्हेतुभये णौ परतो नित्यमाकारादेशो भवति ॥

57. There is invariably the substitution of आ for the diphthong of the root स्मि 'to smile' in the Causative, when the astonishment is produced directly through the Agent of the Causative.

The words णौ and हेतुभय are both understood here. The word नित्य shows that the anuvritti of विभाषा ceases. Thus मुण्डोजाटिलो वा विस्मापयते ॥ Otherwise we have कुञ्चिकयैनं विस्माययति ॥ The word भय here is taken to mean स्मयति i. e. 'wondering, feeling astonished'. See I. 3. 68 where also this meaning has been extended to भय by its connection with भीस्मि together; the proper word ought to have been हेतुस्मये in connection with स्मि, and हेतुभये in connection with भी ॥

सृजिदृशोर्झल्यमकिति ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृजि, दृशोः, झलि, अम्, अकिति ॥

वृत्ति ॥ सृज विसर्गे, दृशिर् प्रेक्षणे, इत्येतयोर्झल्वाझलादावकिति प्रत्यये परतो ऽमागमो भवति ॥

58. The augment अम् (अ) comes after the ऋ of सृज् 'to create', and दृश 'to see', when an affix beginning with a झल् letter (the Mute and the Sibilant) follows: provided that it has no indicatry क् ॥

Thus सृज् + तृन् = सृ + अ + ज् + तृ = स्रष्टृ nom. sing. स्रष्टा, so also स्रष्टुम्, स्रष्टव्यम्, द्रष्टा, द्रष्टुम्, द्रष्टव्यम् ॥ This अम् augment prevents the guṇa substitute ordained by VII. 3. 86. But in अस्राक्षीत् and अद्राक्षीत् the Vṛiddhi takes place in the Aorist, after the augment अम् had taken effect.

Why do we say when beginning with a Mute or a Sibilant? Observe सर्ज्जनम्, दर्शनम् with ल्यु ॥ Why do we say not having an indicatory क? Observe सृष्टः, दृष्टः before the affix क्त ॥ The forms of roots being exhibited in the sûtra, the rule applies when affixes relating to verbs come after these, and not when other affixes relating to noun follow. Thus रज्जुसृड्भ्याम्, देवदृग्भ्याम् ॥ Here the words are used as nouns rather than verbs. For the maxim धातोः स्वरूपग्रहणे तत्प्रत्यये कार्यं applies here.

अनुदात्तस्य चर्दुपधस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तस्य, च, ऋत्, उपधस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशइति वर्त्तते, झल्यमकितीति च । उपदेशे ऽनुदात्तस्य धातोर्ऋकारोपधस्य झलादावकिति प्रत्यये परतो ऽन्यतरस्याममागमो भवति ॥

59. The augment अम् comes optionally after the ऋ of those roots which are exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha as anudâtta, when such roots end in a consonant having a ऋ as penultimate, and are followed by an affix beginning with a mute or sibilant and not having an indicatory क ॥

The word उपदेश is understood here, so also झल्यमकिति ॥ Thus त्रप्ता or तर्पिता or तर्प्ता, द्रप्ता, दर्पिता or दर्प्ता ॥ The roots तृप 'to satisfy', and दृप 'to be happy to release', belong to Divâdi class, sub-class Radhâdi, and they take the augment इट् optionally (VII, 2. 45), so we have the three forms given above: for these roots are also anudâtta in their first enunciation.

Why do we say "which are anudâtta in the Upadesá or the system of grammatical instruction"? Observe वर्ढा, वर्ढुम्, वर्ढव्यम्, from वृहू उद्यमने which is exhibited as उदात्त, and because it has an indicatory ऊ it takes इट् optionally. Why do we say 'having a penultimate ऋ letter'? Observe भेत्ता, छत्ता ॥ Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a mute or a sibilant'? Observe तर्पणम्, दर्पणम् ॥ Why do we say 'not having an indicatory क'? Observe तृप्तः, दृप्तः ॥ Before affixes not beginning with a झल् consonant this augment will not be inserted, as तर्पणम्, दर्पणम् ॥

शीर्षंश्छन्दसि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ शीर्षन्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्षन्निति शब्दान्तरं शिरःशब्देन समानार्थं छन्दसि विषये निपात्यते ॥

60. The word शीर्षन् is found in the Chhandas.

This word is another form of शिरः and means 'head'. This is not a substitute of शिर in the Vedas, for both forms are found therein. Thus शीर्ष्णा हि तत्र सोमं क्रीतं हरन्ति, यत्ते शीर्ष्णो दौर्भाग्यम् ॥ In the secular literature there is only one form शिरः ॥

ये च तद्धिते ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, तद्धिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्षन्निति वर्त्तते । आदेशोयमिष्यते स कथं तद्धितइति हि परं निमित्तमुपादीयते स तदनुरूपां प्रकृतिं शिरःशब्दमाक्षिपति । यकारादौ तद्धिते परतः शिरःशब्दस्य शीर्षन्नादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वा केशेषु ॥

61. There is the substitution of this stem शीर्षन् for शिरस् when a Taddhita-affix beginning with य follows.

The word शीर्षन् is understood here. This rule teaches substitution. The original for which this substitution comes is not given in the sûtra, we must infer it. The appropriate original is शिरस् ॥ Thus शीर्षण्यो हि मुख्यो भवति,

शीर्षण्यः स्वरः ॥ The affix यत् is here added by IV. 3. 55. The word शीर्षण् retains its original form before this affix यत्, the final अन् not being replaced by anything else (VI. 4. 168) Why do we say when 'a Taddhita-affix follows'? Observe शिर इच्छति = शिरस्यति, here य is not a Taddhita affix, and so there is no substitution.

Vârt:—The substitution is optional when meaning 'hair'. As शीर्षण्याः केशाः or शिरस्याः केशाः ॥

अचि शीर्षः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, शीर्षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादौ तद्धिते शिरसः शीर्षशब्द आदेशो भवति ॥

62. There is the substitution of शीर्ष for शिरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Thus हस्तिशिरसोऽपत्यं = हास्तिशीर्षिः formed by adding the Patronymic affix इञ् (IV. 1. 96). So also स्थूलशिरस इदम् = स्थौलशीर्षम् ॥ Had the word been शीर्षन् (instead of शीर्ष as taught herein) then it would have retained its final न् before these affixes and would not have given the proper forms (VI. 4. 168). Again in forming the feminine of हास्तिशीर्षिः by adding ष्यङ् (IV. 1. 78), arises this difficulty :—ष्यङ् (य) is a Taddhita affix beginning with य, when this is applied to हास्तिशीर्षिः, we must apply the last rule and change the शीर्ष into शीर्षन् (for शीर्षन् being the substitute of शिरस् is *prima facie* a substitute of शीर्ष also for the purposes of that rule VI. 1. 61). The form which we get will be this, हास्तिशीर्षिः + ष्यङ् = हास्तिशीर्षण् + य (VI. 1. 61) = हास्तिशीर्षण्या (VI. 4. 168). But this is a wrong form, the desired form is हास्तिशीर्ष्या ॥ How do we explain this? Thus हास्तिशीर्षि + ष्यङ् = हास्तिशीर्ष् + य (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 148 and in the room of इ we substitute a *zero* or लोपादेश) ॥ Now this âdeśa becomes sthânivat to इ, thus the affix य not being *directly* applied to शीर्ष, because this zero intervenes, शीर्ष is not replaced by शीर्षन् as required by VI. 1. 61, for it is not *followed* by an affix beginning with य but by a zero sthânivat to इञ् affix.

This sûtra is not of Pâṇini, but is really a Vârtika raised to the rank of a sûtra by later authors.

पद्दन्नोमास्हृन्निशसन्यूषन्दोषन्यकञ्छकन्नुदन्नासञ्छस्प्रभृतिषु ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद्, दत्, नस्, मास्, हृत्, निश्, असन्, यूषन्, दोषन्, यकन्, शकन्, उदन्, आसन्, शस्, प्रभृतिषु ॥

वृत्ति ॥ पाद दन्त नासिका मास हृदय निशा असृज् यूष दोष यकृत् शकृत् उदक आसन इत्येतेषां शब्दानां स्थाने शस्प्रभृतिप्रत्ययेषु परतः पद् दत् नस् मास् हृत् निश् असन् यूषन् दोषन् यकन् शकन् उदन् आसन् इत्येते आदेशा यथासंख्यं भवन्ति ॥

वा० ॥ पद्दादिषु मांस्पृत्स्नूनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ नस् नासिकाया यत्तस्क्षुद्रेषु ॥

वा० ॥ यति वर्णनगरयोर्नेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

63. In the weak cases (beginning with the accusative plural) the following stems are substituted :—पद् for पाद, दत् for दन्त, नस् for नासिका, मास् for मास, हृद् for हृदय, निश for निशा, असन् for असृज्, यूषन् for यूष, दोषन् for दोस्, यकन् for यकृत्, शकन् for शकृत्, उदन् for उदक and आसन् for आस्य ॥

The Kâśikâ gives आसन् as the substitute for आसन, the Sidhânta Kaumudi gives the original as आस्य which has been adopted in the above. Some say that these substitutions take place in the Vedic Literature only, others say, they are general. Others read the word 'optionally' into this sûtra from VI. 1. 59 and hold that these substitutes are optional and not compulsory.

Examples :—1. पद्—निपद्श्चतुरो जहि, पद्भ्यावर्तय गोदुहम् ॥ 2 दत्—या दती धावति तस्यै श्यावदन् ॥ 3 नस्—सूकरस्त्वखनन्नसा ॥ 4 मास्—मासित्वा पश्यामि चक्षुषा ॥ 5 हृद्—हृदा पूतेन मनसा जातवेदसम् । 6 निश्—अमावास्यायां निशि यजेत ॥ 7 असन्—असिक्नो स्नावरोहति ॥ 8 यूषन्—या पात्राणि यूष्ण आसेचनानि ॥ 9 दोषन्—यत्ते दोष्णो दौर्भाग्यम् ॥ 10 यकन्—यक्नो ददाति ॥ 11 शकन् शक्नो ददाति ॥ 12 उदन्—उद्नो दिव्यस्य नावा ते ॥ 13 आसन्—आसनि किं लभे मधूनि ।

Why do we say when the weak terminations शस् &c follow ? Observe पादौ ते प्रतिपीड्यौ नासके ते कृशे ॥ As examples of this substitutions in the secular literature also, the following may be given :—

व्यायामक्षुण्ण गात्रस्य पद्भ्यामुद्वर्तितस्य च ।
व्याधयो नोपसर्पन्ति वैनतेयमिवोरगाः ॥

These substitutions take place before other affixes also : as, शला दोषणी, ककुद्दोषणी याचते महादेवः ॥

Vârt:—The following substitutions also take place : मांस for मांस, पत् for पतना, and स्नु for सानुः as यन्नीक्षणं मांस्पचन्याः for मांसपचन्याः (Yaj. XXV. 36), पृत्सु मर्त्यम् for पृतनासुमर्त्यम्, न ते दिवो न पृथिव्या अधिस्नुषु for अधिसानुषु ॥

Vârt :—The नस् is substituted for नसिका only when the affixes यत् and तस्. and the word क्षुद्र follow : as, नस्यम्, नस्तः, नस् क्षुद्रः ॥ The यत् is taught in IV. 3. 55 and V. 1. 6 ; तस् is taught in V. 4. 45.

Vârt :—The substitution of नस् for नासिका before the affix यत् does not take place when it refers to 'letters', or 'cities' as: नासिक्यो वर्णः 'a nasal letter' नासिक्यं नगरम् ॥

धात्वादेः षः सः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ धात्वादेः, षः, सः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ धातोरादेः षकारस्य स्थाने सकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुब्धातुष्ठिवुष्वष्कतीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य ॥

64. There is the substitution of स in the room of the ष् being the initial of a verbal root as enunciated in the Dhâtupâṭha.

The roots exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with an initial ष, change it for स ॥ Thus षह—सहते, षिच्—सिंचति ॥ Why do we use the word 'root'? Observe

षोडश, षडिकः, षण्डः ॥ Why do we say 'initial'? Observe—कर्षति, कृषति ॥ Why have then roots been exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with an initial ष, when for all practical purposes this ष is to be replaced by स, would it not have been easier to spell at once these words with a स? This appears cumbersome no doubt, but the spelling of the roots with ष is for the sake of brevity. Certain roots change their स into ष when preceded by certain letters: those roots which thus change their letter स for ष have been at once taught with an initial ष, and thus by VIII. 3. 59 their स is changed to ष ॥ Thus from सिव—instead of सिसव we have सिषव ॥ Thus root is exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha with a ष, and thus we know that the स must be changed to ष ॥ Otherwise a list of such roots would have to be separately given. One must refer to the Dhâtupâṭha for a list of such roots. As a general rule, however, all roots beginning with a स and followed by a vowel or a dental letter have been taught in the Dhâtupâṭha as beginning with an initial ष, as well as the following roots स्मि, स्वद्, स्विद्, स्वञ्ज and स्वप, though followed by म् or व् ॥ The following roots though followed by a vowel or a dental are not taught with an initial ष viz. सृप्, सृज्, स्तृ, स्त्या, सेक्, and सृ ॥

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated of the roots derived from nouns, and of ष्ठिव् and ष्वष्क ॥ Thus षोडीयते, षण्डायते are roots derived from nouns, and though these roots begin with ष are not changed: so ष्ठिव्—ष्ठिवति, ष्वष्क—ष्वष्कते ॥ The word ष्ठिव contains in it two roots ष्ठिव् and ष्थिव्, one with ठ, another with थ, and thus we have two forms in the reduplication:—तेष्ठीव्यते, टेष्ठीव्यते ॥ The substitution of स for ष takes place in the case of the root that has थ ॥

णो नः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ णः, नः ॥

वृत्ति ॥ धातोरादेरित्यनुवर्त्तते । धातोरादेर्णकारस्य नकार आदेशो भवति ॥

65. There is the substitution of न् for the initial ण् of the root in the Dhâtupâṭha.

The phrase धात्वादेः is understood here. Thus णीञ्—नयति, णम—नमति, णह—नह्यति ॥ But not अण्—अणति ॥ This does not apply to roots derived from nouns. णकारमिच्छति = णकारीयात ॥ The roots are exibited in the Dhâtupaṭha with ण for a similar reason as they are exibited with ष ॥ By VIII. 4. 14, these roots change their न into ण when preceded by certain prepositions. All roots beginning with a ण should be understood to have been so taught, with the exception of the following:—नृ, नन्दि नर्दि, नक्क, नाटि, नाधृ and नाथृ ॥

लोपो व्योर्वलि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, व्योः, वलि ॥

वृत्ति ॥ धातोरिति प्रकृतं यत् तदधात्वादेरिति पुनर्धातुग्रहणान्निवृत्तम् । तेन धातोरधातोश्च वकारयकारयोर्वलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

66. There is lopa-substitution (elision) of the व् and य् when followed by any consonant except य् ॥

The final व् or य् of any stem, be it a root or not, is elided by an affix &c, beginning with a वल् consonant i. e. any consonant except य ॥ Thus दिव् + वस् (III. 2. 107) = दिव् + दिव् + वस् = दिदिवस् nom. singular दिदिवान्, दिदिवांसौ, दिदिवांसः ॥ Thus ऊय् + त = ऊतं, 'spun', क्नूय् + त = क्नूतं 'made a noise'. So also the affix ढ्रक् comes after गोधा in forming patronymic (IV. 1. 129). Of the affix ढ्रक्, ढ is replaced by एय् (VII. 1. 2). Thus गोधा + एय् + र = गौधेरः (the य् of the affix being even elided before र) ॥ So also in पचेरन्, यजेरन् the य of लिङ् (III. 4. 102) is elided before रन् (III. 4. 105). So also व is elided in the following:—from जीव्—जीरदानुः (by Uṇâdi affix जीवे रदानुक्) from स्रिव्—अस्रेमाणम् formed by the Uṇâdi affix मनिन् with the negative अ ॥ There being diversity in the application of Uṇâdi affixes (III. 3. 1), there is not ऊठ् substitution for व् as required by VI. 4. 19.

Why do we say "before any consonant except य?" Observe ऊय्यते, क्नूय्यते when य् is not elided. Why the word लोप is placed first? The elision of व् and ल् should take place prior to the elision of the aprrikta व् taught in the next sûtra. Thus कण्डूय + क्विप् = कण्डू य् (VI. 4. 48) = कण्डू + व् = कण्डूः ॥ So लोलूय + क्विप् = लोलूः ॥ Why व् of व्रश्च is not elided before र् which is a वल् consonant? It is not elided, because it is so taught. Had the elision of व् been intended, the root would have been enunciated as रश्च instead of व्रश्च ॥ If you say the व is taught for the sake of forms like वृश्चति by samprasârana. and वव्रश्च by reduplication, here also the 'lopa' would have applied, as being an Antaranga rule, while samprasâraṇa, and the elision of र् by हलादिशेषः are Bahiranga.

वेरपृक्तस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, अपृक्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्त्तते । वेरिति क्विबादयो विशेषानुबन्धानुत्सृज्यसामान्येन गृह्यन्ते । वेरपृक्तस्य लोपो भवति ॥

67. There is elision of the affix वि when reduced to the single letter व् ॥

The affix वि includes क्विप्, क्विन्, ण्वि &c. In all these, the real affix is व्, which being an aprikta (I. 2. 41), is elided. Thus ब्रह्महा, भ्रूणहा (III. 2. 87). Here the affix क्विप् is elided. So also घृतस्पृक्, तैलस्पृक् (III. 2. 58). Here the affix क्विन् is elided. So also अर्धभाक् पादभाक्, तुरीयभाक् (III. 2. 62). Here the affix ण्वि is elided.

Why do we say "of an aprikta—an affix consisting of a single letter"? Observe दर्विः formed by the affix विन् (वि being the real affix); so also जागृविः formed क्विन्, see Uṇâdi Sûtras IV. 53. 44. No root can become a noun unless some krit affix is added to it (see I. 2. 45 and 46); hence the necessity of these imaginary affixes, in order to raise certain roots bodily, without any change, to the rank of nouns—from Dhâtu to a Prâtipadika the way lies only through an affix. And though these imaginary affixes are after all totally elided, yet by

I. 1. 62, they leave their characteristic mark behind, namely the derivative word becomes a nominal stem &c. Thus च्वि words are adverbs (Gati) and Indeclinables.

हल्ङ्याब्भ्यो दीर्घात्सुतिस्यपृक्तं हल् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्, ङ्याप्भ्यः, दीर्घात्, सु, ति, सि, अपृक्तम्, हल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्त्तते । तदिह लौकिकेनार्थेनार्थवत कर्मसाधनं द्रष्टव्यम् । लुप्यतइति लोपः । हलन्तात् ङ्यन्तादाबन्ताच्च दीर्घात्परं सु ति सि इत्येतदपृक्तं हल् लुप्यते ॥

Kârikâ :—संयोगान्तस्य लोपे हि नलोपादिर्न सिद्ध्यति । रात्तु तेनैव लोपः स्याद्धलस्तस्माद्विधीयते ॥

68. After a consonant there is the elision of the nominative-affix स् and the tense-affix ति and सि (when reduced to the form of त् and स्) being consonants; and so also after the long vowels ई and आ of the feminine (affix ङी and आप्), there is the elision of the nominative affix स् ॥

The sûtra translated literally means :—After a word ending in a consonant, or ङी, or आप when a long vowel, the affixes सु, ति and सि when reduced to a single consonant affix (अपृक्तं हल्) are elided. But ति and सि are elided only after a consonant and hence we have translated it as above. As examples of the elision of सु after a consonant :—राजन्+स्=राजान् (VI. 4. 8)+o=राजा, तक्षा, उखास्रत्, पर्णध्वत् ॥ After a ङी :—as, कुमारी, गौरी, शार्ङ्गरवी ॥ After आप् :—खट्वा, बहुराजा, कारी षगन्ध्या ॥ The elision of ति and सि takes place only after consonants :—as, अबिभर्भवान् (भृ+लङ्+तिप्=अ+भृ+श्लु+त्=अ+भृ+भृ+त् (VI. 1. 10) =अ+भर्+भृ+त् (VII. 4: 66 and I. 1. 51)=अ+भ+भृ+त् (VII. 4. 60)=अ+ब +भृ+त् (VIII. 4. 54)=अ+बि+भृ+त् (VII. 4. 76)=अ+बि+भर्+त् (VII. 3. 84)=अबिभर्+त्=अबिभर् ॥ So also अजागर् भवान् ॥ In both these cases त् of the Imperfect has been elided. The स् is elided in the following :—अभिनोऽत्र, अच्छिनोऽत्र ॥ (भिद्+लङ्+सिप् ॥ The द् is changed into र् by VIII. 2. 75 and स् is elided by this rule).

Why do we say "after a consonant, or a feminine affix ई and आ"? Observe ग्रामणीः, सेनानीः ॥ Why do we say "after a long vowelled feminine affix"? Observe निष्कौशाम्बिः, अतिखट्वः, where the feminine affixes have been shortened. Why do we say "when followed by सु, ति and सि"? Observe अभैत्सीत् ॥ The सि being read along with ति, does not include सिच्, but refers to सिप् only. Why do we say 'when reduced to a single letter'? Observe भिनत्ति, छिनत्ति ॥ Why do we say 'the *consonant* is elided'? Observe बिभेद, चिच्छेद ॥ Here the apṛikta affix अ of the Perfect is not elided : though it being the substitute of ति is like ति, and ought to have been elided, had the word हल् not been used in the sûtra.

Why has the elision of स् (सु), त् (तिप्) and स् (सिप्) been ordained after consonants, as they would of themselves have been dropped by VIII. 2. 23, being the finals of a compound consonant? Then the forms राजा, तक्षा could not be evolved. As राजन्+स्=राजान्+स् (VI. 4. 8)=राजान्स् and by eliding स् by Rule VIII. 2. 23, the form would have become राजान्, and the final न् could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 7; for it is a maxim enunciated in the very opening of the Second chapter of the 8th Book, that in the last three chapters of that Book (2nd, 3rd and 4th Books), a subsequent rule is as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned; therefore, the rule VIII. 2. 7 ordaining the elision of न्, does not find scope, since VIII. 2. 23 (ordaining elision of स्) is considered as if it had not taken effect. So also in the case of उखास्रत् and पर्णध्वत् ॥ उखा+स्रन्स्+क्विप् III. 2. 76=उखा+स्रस् (the nasal being elided by VI. 4. 24); now add सु, we have उखास्रस्+स्=उखास्रस्स ; elide the final स् not by this rule, but by VIII. 2. 23, we have उखास्रस्, here we cannot change the स् into द् by VIII. 2. 72 for स् is not *final* in a *pada*, for Rule VIII. 2. 23 is considered as not to have taken effect. So also in the case of अभिनोऽत्र ॥ The word अभिनः is 2nd. Pers. sing. of the Imperfect of भिद् of Rudhâdi class. Thus भिद्+लङ्+सिप्=अ+भिद्+श्नम्+स्=अ+भिनद्+स्=अभिनर्+स् (द् changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75)=अभिनर्स् ॥ If we elide the final स् of the cojunct by VIII. 2. 23, then in अभिनर्+अत्र, the र् would not be changed into उ to form अभिनोऽत्र by VI. 1. 113 since the ellision of स is considered as to have not taken effect when applying this rule. So also in अबिभर् भवान्, by Rule VIII. 2. 24, there would be no lopa even, for संयोगान्तलोप rule is restricted by रात्सस्य (VIII. 2. 24), i. e. स् only and no other consonant is elided after र्, therefore there will be no elision of त् in अबिभर्त् by VIII. 2. 23.

एङ्ह्रस्वात्सम्बुद्धेः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्, ह्रस्वात्, सम्बुद्धेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्त्तते, हलिति च । अपृक्तमिति न धिक्रियते । तथा च पूर्वसूत्रे पुनरपृक्तग्रहणं कृतम् । एङन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् ह्रस्वान्ताच्च परो हल्लुप्यतेसचेत्संबुद्धिर्भवति ॥

69. The consonant of the nominative-affix (सु and its substitute अम्) is elided in the Vocative singular after a nominal-stem enidng in ए or ओ or a short vowel.

The word लोप is understood here also; as well as हल् ॥ The word अपृक्त however is not to be read here, as its repetition in VI. 1. 68 (though its anuvritti was there from the preceding sûtra) indicates. The affix of Vocative is the same as that of the nominative. By VII. 3. 108, the short vowel of the stem is replaced by a guṇa vowel when the Vocative Singular affix follows. Thus we have अग्ने and वायो for अग्नि and वायु; and by VII. 3. 107, a short vowel is substituted for the long vowel ई and ऊ of the feminine: as नदि and वधु for नदी and वधू ॥ Now applying the present sûtra, the affix स् is elided after

all the above words. As हे अग्ने !, हे वायो !, हे देवदत्त!, हे नदि !, हे वधु ! The Vocative Singular of कुण्ड a Neuter noun is thus formed. By VII. 1. 24, अम replaces सु of the nominative, the अ of अम् and the final अ of कुण्ड coalesce into one अ by VI. 1. 107, which becomes कुण्डम् ॥ Here by the rule that 'consonant' only is to be elided, we elide म् only (and not अ which becomes a part of the word by VI. 1. 85, for it is considered both as the final of the word and the initial of the affix). Now म् is not an अपृक्तं हल् for it is part of the affix अम्, and its elision would not have taken place had we read the anuvritti of apṛikta into this sûtra. Thus we have हे कुण्ड ! ॥ But in हे कतरत् ! there is not the elision of the त् of the affix अत्, the substitute of सु for the affix there is अद्ड् (VII. 1. 25). This affix being डित् causes the elision of the final अ of कतर (VI. 4. 143), and we have कतर् + अत्, here we have not a prâtipadika which ends in a *short* vowel, but in a *consonant*, hence त् is not elided. See also VII. 1. 25. The word एङ् is used in the sûtra in order to indicate that the guṇa substitution is stronger than lopa. Therefore in हे अग्नि + सु, the affix is not elided first and then guṇa substituted for इ, but first there is guṇa substitution and then the affix is elided.

शेश्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ शेः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शि इत्येतस्य बहुलं छन्दसि विषये लोपो भवति ॥

70. In the Chhandas, the elision of the case-ending इ (शि) of the nominative and accusative plural neuter, is optional.

Thus या क्षेत्रा or यानि क्षेत्राणि, या वना or यानि वनानि ॥

ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वस्य, पिति, कृति, तुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिति कृति परतो ह्रस्वस्य तुमागमो भवति ॥

71. To a root ending in a short vowel is added the augment त् (तुक्) when a Krit-affix having an indicatory प् follows.

Thus अग्नि + चि + क्विप् = आग्निचित्, so also सोमसुत् ॥ Similarly प्रकृत्य and प्रहृत्य and उपस्तुत्य formed by the affix ल्यप् ॥ Why do we say "ending in a short vowel"? Observe आलूय, ग्रामणीः ॥ Why do we say "having an indicatory प" ? Observe कृतम्, हृतम् ॥ Why do we say "a kṛit affix"? Observe पटुतरः, पटुतमः, with the Taddhita-affixes तरप् and तमप् ॥ In the compound ग्रामणिकुलम्, though the root is made short, yet there is no augment तुक्, in as much as the rule by which the root has been shortened is a Bahiranga rule, and the present rule is an Antaranga one. The maxim is असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ॥ "That which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is Antaranga is to take effect".

संहितायाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संहितायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारो ऽयमनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जमिति यावत् । प्रागेतस्मात्सूत्रादित उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामः संहितायामित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

72. In the following sûtras upto VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the words संहितायाम् 'in an unbroken flow of speech', should be supplied.

This is an adhikâra or governing sûtra, exerting its influence upto VI. 1. 158. What ever we shall say in the sûtras preceding that, must be understood to apply to words which are in संहिता, that is, which are pronounced together with an uninterrupted voice. Thus दध्यत्र, मध्वत्र the इ and उ are changed to य and व् when the two words are pronounced without any hiatus. Otherwise we shall have दधि अत्र, मधु अत्र ॥

छे च ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वस्य तुगिति वर्त्तते । छकारे परतः संहितायां विषये ह्रस्वस्य तुगागमो भवति ॥

73. The augment त् is added to a preceding short vowel also when छ follows in an uninterrupted speech.

Thus इच्छति, गच्छति ॥ The त is changed to च by VIII. 4. 40. The short vowel itself is the आगमी (the thing to which the augment is added), and not the word ending in that short vowel. Therefore in चिच्छिदतुः, चिच्छिदुः, the augment is not to be considered as part of the Reduplicate चि, but of the short इ only; and therefore it is not elided by हलादिः शेष (VII. 4. 60) rule applying to reduplicates. This follows on the maxim नावयवावयवः समुदायावयवो भवति "the part of a part cannot be considered as a part of the whole". Here त् is a part of the abhyâsa syllable चि which is itself a part of the verbal base, therefore त् is not considered as an abhyâsa: or because त् being an augment of इ is considered as part of इ and not of चि of which इ is the part.

आङ्माङोश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, माङोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुगित्यनुवर्त्तते, छइति च । आङो ङित ईषदादिषु चतुर्ष्वर्थेषु वर्त्तमानस्य माङश्च प्रतिषेधवचनस्य छकारे परतस्तुगागमो भवति ॥

74. The augment त् is added to the particle आ and the prohibitive particle मा, when छ follows in a continuous text.

The Particle आ has the four senses of 1. littleness (ईषदर्थः) 2. with verbs, as a prefix (क्रियायोगः) 3. the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) and 4. the limit exclusive (मर्यादा). This sûtra ordains तुक् *necessarily*, where by VI. 1. 76, it would have been optional. Thus ईषच्छाया = आच्छाया; 2. With verbs:—as आच्छादयति, 3 and 4. आच्छायायाः, आच्छायम् ॥ So also the negative particle मा, as, माच्छैत्सीत्, माच्छिदत् ॥ The ङ् in आङ्

and माङ् shows that आ when used as a Gati and a Karmapravachanîya and मा when used as a negative particle are meant. Therefore, the त् is not necessary in the following :—आछाया मानयाति, प्रमाछन्द:॥ The तुक् may be optionally added in these as आच्छाया and प्रमाच्छन्द: ॥ The आ here has the force of recollection (स्मरण); आछाया "Oh the shade". The word प्रमा is formed from the verbal root माङ् by the prefix प्र and the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106) with the feminine affix टाप्, and the word ending in टाप् has not the indicatory ङ् ॥

दीर्घात् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, तुक् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ छे तुगिति वर्त्तते । दीर्घात्परो यश्छकारस्तस्मिन्पूर्वस्य तस्यैव दीर्घस्य तुगागमो भवति ॥

75. The augment त् is added to a long vowel, when followed by छ in a continuous text.

Thus ह्रीच्छति, म्लेच्छति, अपचाच्छायते, विचाच्छायते ॥ The augment belongs to the long vowel and not to the whole syllable ending in that long vowel.

पदान्ताद्वा ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तात्, वा, तुक् ॥

वृत्ति ॥ दीर्घाच्छेतुगिति वर्त्तते । पदान्ताद्दीर्घात्परो यश्छकारस्तस्मिन्पूर्वस्य तस्यैव दीर्घस्य पूर्वेण नित्यं प्राप्तो वा तुगागमो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विश्वजनादीनां छन्दसि वा तुगागमो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

76. The augment त्, is added optionally to a long vowel final in a full word (Pada) when followed by छ ॥

This allows option where by the last it would have been compulsory to add it. The augment is of the long vowel, and not of the word ending in long vowel. Thus कुटीच्छाया or कुटीछाया, कुवलीच्छाया or कुवलीछाया ॥ The तुक् augment here is added to the *end* of a pada, and this is therefore a padânta rule and not a pada-vidhi. Therefore the two words need not be in construction for the application of this rule; (समर्थ पदविधि) not applying. Thus तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छत्रं हर देवदत्तस्य, "let the girl stay. Take the umbrella of Devadatta". Here कुमारी and छत्रं are not in construction, but तुक् is stll added optionally.

Vârt :—The augment त is optional in the Chhandas, after the words विश्वजन &c. As, विश्वजनच्छत्रम् or विश्वजनछत्रम्, नच्छायां कुरवोपराम् or नछायां कुरवोपराम् ॥

इको यणचि ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, यण्, अचि ॥

वृत्ति ॥ अचि परत इको यणादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्य सवर्णदीर्घबाधनार्थं यणादेशो वक्तव्यः ॥

77. The semivowels य्, व्, र्, ल् are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ऌ (long and short), when followed by a vowel.

This sûtra is rather too wide. It must be restricted by VI. I. 101, namely the following vowel must not be of the same class as the preceding for

the application of this rule. Thus दधि + अत्र = दध्यत्र, मधु + अत्र = मध्वत्र, कर्तृ + अर्थम् = कर्त्रर्थम्, हर्तृ + अर्थम् = हर्त्रर्थम्, ऌ आकृति = लाकृतिः ॥

Vârt :—This semivowel substitution of vowels takes place, when preceded by a prolated vowel, even to the supersession of VI. 1. 101 requiring lengthening. Thus अग्ना ३ इ इन्द्रं = अग्ना ३ यिन्द्रम्, पटा ३ उ उदकम् = पटा ३ वुदकम्, अग्ना ३ इ आशा = अग्ना ३ याशा, पटा ३ उ आशा = पटा ३ वाशा ॥ भो ३ इ इन्द्रम् = भो ३ यिन्द्रम ॥ The phrase 'when a vowel follows' exerts its influence upto VI. 1. 108.

एचो ऽयवायावः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचः, अय् - अव् - आय्-आवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचः स्थाने ऽचि परतो ऽय् अव् आय् आव् इत्येते आदेशा यथासंख्यं भवन्ति ॥

78. For the vowels ए, ऐ, ओ and औ are respectively substituted अय्, आय्, अव् and आव् when a vowel follows.

Thus चि + ल्युट् = चे + अन = चयनम्, लो + अन = लवनं; चै + अक = चायकः, लौ + अक = लावकः ॥ So also कयेते, व्ययेते, यावयरुणद्धि, रु + युच् (III. 2. 148) = रो + अन = रवणः ॥

वान्तो यि प्रत्यये ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वान्तः, यि, प्रत्यये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योयमचः स्थाने वान्तादेश ओकारस्य अव् औकारस्याव् स यकारादौ प्रत्यये परतो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोर्यूतौ छन्दसि ॥ वा० ॥ अध्वपरिमाणे च ॥

79. The substitution of अव् and आव् for ओ and औ also takes place before an affix beginning with य ॥

The वान्त are those which end in व् viz. अव् and आव् ॥ Of the four substitutes taught in the preceding sûtra, those which end in व् (viz. अव् and आव्) also come when an affix with an initial य follows. It follows that the substituted letters must be ओ and औ ॥ Thus बभ्रु + यञ् = बाभ्रो + य = बाभ्रव्यः (VI. 4. 146 and IV. 1. 105). So also माण्डव्यः, शंकव्यंदारु, पिचव्यः कार्पासः, नाव्यो (IV. 4. 91) ह्रदः॥ Why do we say "अव् and आव्"? Observe रायमिच्छति = रैयति, no change of ऐ before य ॥ Why do we say "before य"? Observe गोभ्याम्, नौभ्याम् ॥ Why do we say "an affix"? Observe गोयानम्, नौयानम् ॥

Vârt :—The word गो is changed before यूति in the Vedas. As गो + यूति = गव्यूति, as आनो मित्रा वरुणा घृतैर्गव्यूतिमुक्षतम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe गोयूतिः ॥

Vârt:—This substitution takes place when referring to the measur of a road:—as, गव्यूति मात्रमध्वानं गतः ॥ This is in the secular literature, गव्यूति meani g क्रोशयुगम् ॥

धातोस्तन्निमित्तस्यैव ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः, तन्निमित्तस्य, एव ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एच इति वर्त्तते । वान्तो यि प्रत्ययइति च । धातोर्य एच् तन्निमित्तो यकारादिप्रत्ययनिमित्तस्तस्य यकारादौ प्रत्यये परतो वान्तादेशो भवति ॥

80. For the final diphthongs ओ and औ of a root, are substituted अव् and आव् respectively, before an affix beginning with य, then only when such diphthong has been itself first evolved by that affix.

The words एचः, वान्तोयि प्रत्यये are understood in this sûtra. The word ताग्निमित्त means 'caused by that' i. e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with य ॥ Thus लू forms its Future Passive Participle by यत् (III. 1. 97), this affix causes the guṇa of ऊ by VII. 3. 84: Thus लू+य=लो+य, which according to the present sûtra becomes लव्यम् ॥ So also पू—पो+य=पव्यम् ॥ लू+ण्यत्(III.1.125) = लौ+य=अवश्य लाव्यम् and अवश्य पाव्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'of a root'? This rule should not apply to a nominal stem. For then, though it may be all right in the case of बभ्रु+य=बाभ्रो+य=बाभ्रव्यः; it will not apply to cases like गो+य=गव्य, नौ+य=नाव्य, where ओ and औ are not *caused* by the affix, but are integral parts of the stem before the affixes were added. Why do we say 'caused by that affix itself'? The substitution will not take place, when the change is not caused by that affix. Thus the Passive of वे with the upasarga आ is आ+वे+यक्+ते=Here by Samprasâraṇa(VI.1.15), वे becomes उ, as आ+उ+य+ते; now by sandhi आ+उ=ओ VI. 1. 87), we have ओ+यते=ओयते ॥ Since ओ is not caused by य, there is no अव् substitution. So also ओयत, लौयमानिः, पौयमानिः (IV. 1. 95). The word एव in the aphorism has the force of limitation, with regard to roots. In the case of roots, ओ and औ before य are changed then only to अव् and आव् when य has caused the production of ओ and औ; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the य has caused the production of ओ and औ or not.

क्षय्यजय्यौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षय्य - जय्यौ , शक्य - अर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षि जि इत्येतयोर्धात्वोर्यति प्रत्यये परतः शक्यार्थे गम्यमाने एकारस्यायादेशो निपात्यते ॥

81. In क्षय्य and जय्य there is substitution of अय् for ए only then when the sense is that of "to be possible to do".

The roots क्षि and जि before the affix यत् (III. 1. 97) assume these forms when meaning to be able to do the action denoted by the verb. As शक्यः क्षेतुं=क्षय्यः (क्षि+य=क्षे+य); so also जय्यः ॥ Why do we say when meaning "to be possible to do"? Observe क्षेयं पापं, जेयो वृषलः ॥ Here the meaning is that of 'necessity'.

क्रय्यस्तदर्थे ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रय्यः, तदर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीणातेर्धातोस्तदर्थे क्रयार्थे यत्तस्मिन्नभिधेये यति प्रत्यये परतो ऽयादेशो निपात्यते ॥

82. In क्रय्य there is substitution of अय् for ए when the sense is that of 'exposed or put out for sale, saleable'.

The word क्रय्य is derived from क्री 'to buy', with the affix यत्; the guṇa ए being changed to य ॥ The word तदर्थ means 'for the purpose of that'

i. e., for the purpose of being bought. As क्रय्या गौः, क्रय्यः कम्बलः ॥ Why do we say 'when the sense is that of saleable'? Observe क्रेयं नो धान्यं न चास्ति क्रय्यम् "we want to purchase corn, but it is not put out for sale".

भय्यप्रवय्ये च छन्दसि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भय्य - प्रवय्ये , च, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिभेतेर्धातोः प्रपूर्वस्य च वी इत्येतस्य यति प्रत्यये परतश्छन्दसि विषयेऽयादेशो निपात्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ह्रय्या आप उपसंख्यानम् ॥

83. The forms भय्य and प्रवय्या are found in the Chhandas.

The word भय्य is derived from भी + यत्, and प्रवय्या from प्र + वी + यत् ॥ The guṇa ए is changed to अय् ॥ Thus भय्यं किलासीत् ॥ वत्सतरी प्रवय्या ॥ The यत् is added to भी with the force of Ablative by virtue of the diversity allowed by कृत्यल्युटो बहुलं (III. 3. 113) ॥ Thus बिभेति अस्माद् = भय्यम् "frightening or fearable". The word प्रवय्या is always used in the feminine: in other places प्रवेय is the proper form. Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe भेयम, प्रवेयम् in secular literature.

Vârt:—The word ह्रय्या should also be enumerated when referring to water. As ह्रदे भवा = ह्रय्या आपः ॥ The affix यत् is added by IV. 4. 110 (ह्रदे + य = ह्रय् + य) ॥

एकः पूर्वपरयोः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकः, पूर्व - परयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोयम् । ख्यत्यात्परस्येति प्रागेतस्मात्सूत्रादितं उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र पूर्वस्य परस्य द्वयोरपि स्थाने एकादेशो भवतीत्येतद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

84. From here upto VI. 1. 111 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase "for the preceding and the following one is substituted".

This is an adhikâra sûtra. In every sûtra upto VI. 1. 112 (excluding the last), whatever we shall teach, there in the room of the two, namely, the preceding and the succeeding, it should be understood, that the substitution is one. These form the well known rules of *ekâdesa*, one letter or form replacing two consecutive letters &c. Thus VI. 1. 87 teaches 'There is guṇa substitution, when अ or आ is followed by a vowel'. We must supply into that sûtra the phrase एकः पूर्वपरयोः i. e. one guṇa is the substitute for the final अ or आ and the initial vowel. Thus खट्वा + इन्द्रः = खट्वेन्द्रः ॥ Here ए is the single substitute of the both preceding letter आ and the succeeding letter इ ॥ The words पूर्व पर show that the substitute operates simultaneously on both. Otherwise the substitute would have come in the place of *one* only or of each one separately. Thus in आद् गुणः (अचि) = "after अ or आ, there is guṇa, in a vowel". Here आत् is in the ablative, and by I. 1. 67 the guṇa operation would have taken place on the letter *following* it: so also अचि is in the Locative and by I. 1. 66, the

6

guṇa operation would have taken place on the *preceding* ; so it is not clear of what letter there should be guṇa substitution, of the preceding or the succeeding. But the present rule shows it must operate on both simultaneously. The word एक 'single', shows that a separate or a different substitute does not operate: i. e. the substitute must be one, there should not be two separate substitutes one for each sthânî, such as we find in the sûtra VIII. 2. 42 (रदाभ्यां निष्ठातो नः, पूर्वस्य च दः, "न is the substitute of the त of nishṭhâ, after र् and द्, and of the precediug द"). Here न् is taught as substitute both of त् and द्, and as एक is not used in the sûtra, we get *two* न, as भिद् + त = भिन् + न = भिन्नः ॥ But this is not the case here. According to Mahabhâshya the word एक is redundant.

अन्तादिवच्च ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त - आदि - वत् , च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एक इति वर्त्तते पूर्वपरयोरिति च । एकः पूर्वपरयोरिति योयमेकादेशो विधीयते स पूर्वस्यान्तवद्भवति, परस्यादिवद्भवति ॥

85. And this single substitute is considered as the final of the preceding (form), and the initial of the succeeding (form).

The single substitute taught in the last, is considered in the light of the final of the preceding form and the initial of the succeeding. An âdeśa is like the sthânî, but in an ekâdeśa, the sthânî is indeterminate, or rather the sthânî is the *collection* or the *sum* of the preceding and the succeeding. Hence the necessity of this sûtra. The sense of this atideśa sûtra is this: as the beginning and the end of a thing are both *included* in the thing itself, and therefore when the thing is mentioned, the beginning and the end are both taken; so is the case with this single substitute. Thus to the stem ब्रह्मबन्धु we add ऊ the feminine affix (IV. 1. 66); and now उ + ऊ = ऊ (VI. 1. 101) i. e. ब्रह्मबन्धु + ऊ = ब्रह्मबन्धू ॥ Here ब्रह्मबन्धु is a Nominal-stem (प्रातिपदिक) and the affix ऊ is a non-prâtipadika, and the single-substitute ऊ is considered as the final of the prâtipadika. So that we can apply to the form ब्रह्मबन्धू the term prâtipadika and by virtue of this designation we can add the case-endings to it by IV. 1. 1. But for this rule, we could not have added the case-endings to it, because by virtue of the feminine affix ऊ the word would have rather ceased to be a prâtipadika (I. 1. 46), because this feminine affix ऊ is not included in IV. 1. 1. Similarly for the final non-case-ending अ of वृक्ष and the case-ending औ, there comes a single substitute औ by VI. 1. 88, this ekâdeśa औ is considered both as a non-case affix and a case affix, that is, as the initial of the affix औ, and the final of वृक्ष and thus the word वृक्षौ gets the designation of Pada I. 4. 14 as it *ends* in the सुप् affix औ ॥

This अन्तादिवद्भाव does not apply in rules relating to letters i. e. to rules depending for their application on letters. Thus खट्व + आ = खट्वा ॥ Here the

ekâdeśa आ is as the final अ of खट्व, but not for the purposes of the application of the rule which says that the भिस् is changed to ऐस् after a nominal-stem ending in अ, so the Instrumental plural of खट्वा will not end in ऐः, but will be खट्वाभिः ॥ So also in जुहाव ॥ It is the Perfect 3rd per. sing. of ह्वे or ह्वा (VI. 1. 45). By VI. 1. 53, the व् is changed to उ, and we have जुहुव्आ = जुहुउआ which by VI 1. 108 becomes जुहु, the उ being the single substitute of उ and आ ॥ This single-substitute उ should not be considered as आ for the application of the rule VII. 1. 34 by which the Perfect affix णल् (अ) is changed in औ after roots ending in आ ॥ Similarly in अस्यै + अश्वः = अस्या अश्वः (the य् being elided by VIII. 3. 19). अस्यै is the Dative singular of इदम् in the Feminine with आ ॥ By VII. 3. 114 स्या is added in the Dative with the shortening of the preceding आ ; as अ + स्या + ए = अस्यै ॥ Here ऐ is the single substitute for आ and ए ॥ Here for the application of VI. 1. 109 the single substitute ऐ should not be considered like ए ॥ The sthânî of the single-substitute (ekâdeśa) is the *sum* of the preceding and the sueceeding, both taken collectively is replaced by *one*, and not any one of them separately. For that which is replaced by another is called sthânî: as when भू replaces अस् the whole form अस् is called sthânî, and not अ or स् separately. The parts, may be called sthânî only inferentially, because the whole is made up of parts. The parts not being considered as sthânî, the rule of sthânîvad bhâva will not apply to an ekâdeśa with regards to the parts, and no operations dependant on such parts will be effected by such ekâdeśa. But it is intended that such operations should take place. Hence this sûtra.

षत्वतुकोरसिद्धः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षत्व - तुकोः, असिद्धः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षत्वे तुकि च कर्तव्ये एकादेशो ऽसिद्धो भवति, सिद्धकार्यं न करोतीत्यर्थः ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संप्रसारणङीट्सु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

86. The substitution of a single âdeśa is to be considered as to have not taken effect, when otherwise स would have to be changed to ष, or when the augment त् (तुक्) is to be added.

The word असिद्ध means not-accomplished i. e. the operation caused by its having taken effect is not produced. The word asiddha always debars operations dependent upon the âdeśa, and gives scope to the operations dependent upon the general rule (असिद्धवचनमादेशलक्षणप्रतिषेधार्थमुत्सर्गलक्षणभावार्थं च ॥) Thus कोऽसिचत् here स is not changed to ष ॥ The equation is thus exhibited : कस् + असिचत् = कर् + असिचत् (the स changed to र by VIII. 2.66) = कउ + असिचत् (उ being substituted for र by VI. 1. 113) = को + असिचत् (अ + उ = ओ VI. 1. 87) = कोऽसिचत् (ओ + अ = ओ VI. 1. 109). Now applies our sûtra. By VIII. 3. 59, स coming after ओ requiredto be changed into ष, but here the single-substitute ओ is con-

sidered to be non-effective for this purpose. Similarly कौऽस्य, योऽस्य, कोऽस्मै, यौऽस्मै ॥ Similarly in अधीत्य there is the addition of त् by VI. 1. 71, though actually preceded by a *long* vowel. That long vowel had resulted from the ekâdeśa of ई for इ+इ, and this ekâdeśa is considered as if non-effective for the purposes of तुक् augment. Similarly in प्र+इ+तुक्+य=प्रेत्य. Here also अ+इ=ए is considered asiddha.

Vârt :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of samprasârana, the Locative singular case-ending ङि (इ), and the 1st per. sing. Atmanepada affix इट् ॥ Of vocalisation we have the following: शकहूषु=शकान् ह्वयति, then we add क्विप्, before which there is vocalisation of व्, this उ combining with in the following आ becomes उ ekâdeśa: as शकह्वा+क्विप्=शकहुउआ+o (VI. 1. 15)+शकहु (VI. 1. 108). The Locative plural is formed by सु: शकहु+सु=शकहूषु (the lengthening taking place by VI. 4. 2). Here स is changed to ष the ekâdeśa उ for उ+अ not being considered asiddha. So also परिवीषु (परि+व्ये+क्विप्=परि+वृइए+क्विप्=परिवि, add सु) ॥ Of the affix ङि we have:—वृक्ष+इ=वृक्षे, add छत्रम्, then the single substitute ए being considered not asiddha we have वृक्षेच्छत्रम् or वृक्षेछत्रम ॥ Of the affix इट् of 1st Pers. Atmanepada we have अपचे+छत्रम=अपचेच्छत्रम् or अपचेछत्राम ॥ In both these cases we optionally add तुक् by VI. 1. 75-76, by considering the ekâdeśa (VI. 1. 87) as to have taken effect, and making the finals दीर्घ or long. Here the ekâdeśa is *not* asiddha and therefore तुक् is *optinal* and not compulsory.

आद्गुणः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचीत्यनुवर्तते । अवर्णात्परोयो ऽच् अचि च पूर्वो यो ऽवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोरवर्णाचोः स्थाने एको गुण आदेशो भवति ॥

87. The guṇa is the single substitute of the final अ or आ of a preceding word and the simple vowel of the succeeding (अ or आ+a vowel=guṇa).

The word आचि is understood here. For the vowel which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a vowel, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding vowels, there is the single substitute guṇa. Thus तव+इदम्=तवेदम्, खट्वा+इन्द्रः=खट्वेन्द्रः, माला+इन्द्रः=मालेन्द्रः, तव+ईहते=तवेहते, खट्वा+ईहते=खट्वेहते, तव+उदकम्=तवोदकम्, खट्वा+उदकम्=खट्वोदकम्, तव+ऋश्यः=तवर्श्यः, खट्वा+ऋश्यः=खट्वर्श्यः, तव+लृकारः=तवल्कारः, खट्वा+लृकारः=खट्वल्कारः ॥ By analogy of I. 1. 51, the guṇa substitute of लृ being अ is always followed by ल्, as that of ऋ is followed by र् ॥ This universal rule is limited by the following aphorism.

वृद्धिरेचि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, एचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिति वर्तते । अवर्णात्परो य एच् एचि च पूर्वो यो ऽवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोरवर्णैचोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

88. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute of अ or आ of a preceding word and the initil diphthong of the succeedind (अ or आ-।-diphthong = vṛiddhi).

The word आत् is understood here. For the diphthong which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a diphthong, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding अ or आ and diphthong, there is a single substitute viz. the Vṛiddhi. This debars guṇa taught in the last sûtra. Thus ब्रह्म + एडका = ब्रह्मैडका, खट्वा + एडका = खट्वैडका, ब्रह्म + ऐतिकायनः = ब्रह्मैतिकायनः, खट्वा + एतिकायनः = खट्वैतिकायनः ॥ ब्रह्म + ओदनः = ब्रह्मौदनः, खट्वा + ओदनः = खट्वौदनः, ब्रह्म + औपगवः = ब्रह्मौपगवः, खट्वा + औपगवः = खट्वौपगवः ॥

एत्येधत्यूठ्सु ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति, एधति, ऊठसु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिरेचीति वर्तते, आदिति च । तदेतदेज्ग्रहणमेतेरेव विशेषणं न पुनरेधतेरव्यभिचाराद्रूठश्चासंभवात् । इण् गतावित्येतस्मिन्धातावेचि एध वृद्धावित्येतस्मिन् ऊठि च पूर्वं यदवर्णं ततश्च परो योऽच् तयोः पूर्वपरयोरवर्णाचोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अक्षादूहिन्यां वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ स्वादीरेरिण्योर्वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

वा० ॥ प्रादूहोढोढ्येषैष्येषु वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ ऋते च तृतीयासमासे ऽवर्णाद् वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

वा० ॥ प्रवत्सतरकम्बलवसनानामृणे वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ ऋणदशाभ्यां वृद्धिर्वक्तव्या ॥

89. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the अ or आ-।-ए of एति (root इ) and एधति (root एध), and for अ or आ-।-ऊ of ऊठ् (the substitute of वा in वाह् by VI. 4. 132).

The whole of the last sûtra and आत् are understood here. The एच् of the last sûtra qualifies the root इ in एति, i. e. when the root इ assumes the form ए by internal changes, then apples this Vṛiddhi rule. The एच् does not qualify the root एध् as that root always has an initial diphthong, nor does एच् qualify ऊठ् for ऊ is not a diphthong. Thus उप + एति = उपैति, उप + एषि = उपैषि, उपैमि; उप-।-एधते = उपैधते, प्रैधते; प्रष्ठ-।-ऊहा = प्रष्ठौहा ॥ In the last example, guṇa was the substitute required by VI. I. 87, the present sûtra ordains Vṛiddhi instead. In the case of एति and एधति, the Vṛiddhi was debarred by VI. I. 94, this sûtra makes an exception to that rule. The present sûtra is an exception to VI. I. 94 and not to VI. I. 95, because the maxim is पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान् विधीन् बाधन्ते नोत्तरान् "Apavâdas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavâda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules". Therefore the present rule does not apply here, :—उप + आ-।-इत = उप + एत = उपेतः (Here though इ is changed to ए, the rule does not apply). Therefore the form अवैहि is wrong. So also उप-।-इत = उपेतः for here the root इ has not assumed the form ए, therefore the rule does not apply, the word एचि qualifies the root इ ॥

Vârt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when अक्ष is followed by ऊहिनी, as अक्षौहिणी सना ॥

Vârt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when स्व is followed by ईर or ईरिण, or ईरिणी thus स्वैरम्, स्वैरिणी ॥ The word ईर is formed by the affix घञ् added to ईर् गतौ (Ad. 8) स्वेनाभिप्रायेण ईरणं = स्वैरम the compounding takes place by II. 1. 32. Another form is स्वैरी = स्वेनाभिप्रायेणेर ते गच्छति with the affix णिनि (III. 2. 78).

Vârt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when प्र is followed by ऊह, ऊढ, ऊढि, एष, एष्य; as प्रौहः, प्रौढः, प्रौढिः, प्रैषः, प्रैष्यः ॥ The word एष is derived from the root इषु to wish' (Tud. 59), इष् 'to go' (Div. 18), and इष् 'to repeat' (Kry. 53), by adding the affix घञ् ; and the word एष्य is derived form the same roots by adding ण्यत् ॥ This Vârtika ordains Vṛiddhi, while VI. 1. 94 would have caused पररूपः ॥ While the roots ईष् 'to glean', and ईष् 'to go' to injure, 'to show'. (Bh. 115 and 642), form ईषः and ईष्यः with the above affixes ; and with प्र, their forms will be प्रेषः and प्रेष्यः ॥

Vârt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when a word ending in अ is followed by ऋत and forms an Instrumental Tatpurusha compound: as सुखेन ऋतः = सुखार्तः, दुःखेन ऋतः = दुःखार्तः, but सुखेन इतः = सुखेतः ॥ Why in Instrumental? Observe परमर्तः ॥ Why 'Compound'? See सुखेनर्तः ॥

Vârt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the word ऋण follows the following:—प्र, वत्सतर, कम्बल, वसन ॥ As प्रार्णम् 'principal debt', वत्सतरार्णम् 'the debt of a steer', कम्बलार्णम् 'debt of a blanket', वसनार्णम् 'debt of a cloth'.

Vârt—So also when the words ऋण and दश are followed by ऋणः—as, ऋणार्णम् and दशार्णम् ॥ The word ऋणार्ण means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt. The Dasârṇa is the name of a river and of a country.

आटश्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ आटः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एचीति निवृत्तम् । अचीत्यनुवर्त्तते । आटः परो यो ऽच् अचि च पूर्वो य आट् तयोः पूर्वपरयोराडचोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ।

90. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the augment आट् is followed by any vowel.

The anuvritti of एचि ceases : that of अचि however, is present. The vowel that is subsequent to the augment आट्, and the आट् which is precedent to a vowel—in the room of these two i. e. the आट् and the vowel—subsequent and precedent, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute. The augment आट् is added to the roots beginning with a vowel, in the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional Tenses (VI. 4. 72 &c). Thus ऐक्षिष्ट, ऐक्षत, ऐक्षिष्यत, औभीत्, औद्धीत्, औब्जीत् from roots ईक्षदर्शने (Bhu. 641), उभ उम्भ पूरणे (Tud. 32) and उ ब्ज आर्जवे (Tud. 20). According to Siddhânta Kaumudî the आट् is the augment which ङित् case-affixes take after *nadî*-words (VII. 3. 112). According to him the following are the examples :—बहुश्रेयसी-+-आट्-+-ङे = बहुश्रेयस्यै (Dative Singular). The आट् is the augment also in the Vedic Tense लेट् ॥

The च् 'and' in the sûtra shows that the पररूप rule, taught in VI. 1. 95, 96 when उस्, ओं and आङ् follow, is superseded, when the preceding vowel is आट् ॥ Thus औक्षीयत्, औकारीयत् ॥ आ+ऊढा = ओढा, तामिच्छत् = औढायत् ॥

उपसर्गादृति धातौ ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, ऋति, धातौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव । अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादृकारादौ धातौ परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

91. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the अ or आ of a preposition (upasarga) is followed by the short ऋ of a verb.

The word आत् is understood here also. When a preposition ending in अ or आ is followed by a root beginning with ऋ, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the precedent अ or आ and the subsequent ऋ ॥ This debars the guṇa taught in VI. 1. 87. Thus उप+ऋच्छति = उपार्च्छति, प्रार्च्छति, उपार्ध्नोति ॥ Why do we say 'after a preposition'? Observe खट्वर्च्छति, मालर्च्छति, प्रर्च्छकोदेशः = प्रगता ऋच्छका अस्माद् देशात् ॥ Here the word प्र is not treated as an upasarga, hence this sûtra does not apply. It is a Gati here. Why do we say 'when ऋ follows'? Observe उप+इत = उपेतः ॥ Why have we used त् after ऋ indicating that short ऋ is to be taken? Observe उप+ॠकारीयति = उपर्कारीयति ॥ No option is allowed here by the subsequent sûtra. The त् is used, in fact, for the sake of the subsequent sûtra in case of Denominative verbs, no ordinary verb can begin wirh a long ॠ ॥ Why have we employed the word धातु, when the word 'upasarga' would have caused us to infer its correlative धातु? It is used in order to prevent the application of the rule VI. 1. 129 which causes प्रकृतिभावः or non-sandhi of ऋ ॥ The repetition of 'Dhâtu' shows that the alternative prakriti bhava taught in VI. 1. 129, would not apply in the case of the ऋ of a Dhâtu.

वा सुप्यापिशलेः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, सुपि, आपिशलेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव । उपसर्गादृति धाताविति च । सुबन्तावयवे धातावृकारादौ परतो ऽवर्णान्तादुपसर्गात्पूर्वपरयोरापिशलेराचार्यस्य मतेन वा वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

92. According to the opinion of Âpiśali, the Vṛiddhi is optionally the single substitute, when the अ or आ of a preposition is followed by a Denominative Verb beginning with ऋ ॥

Thus उपार्षभीयति or उपर्षभीयति, उपल्कारीयति or उपाल्कारीयति ॥ The ऋ and ऌ are considered as homogenous letters, therefore the word ऋ in the last sûtra includes ऌ also. The name of the Grammarian Ápisali is mentioned for the sake of respect; the वा itself was enough to make it an optional rule.

औतो ऽम्शसोः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, ओतः, अम् - शसोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओतो ऽमि शसि च परतः पूर्वपरयोराकार आदेशो भवति ॥

93. For ओ of a Nominal stem+अ of the Accusative case-ending अम् and अस्, the single substitute is आ ॥

The word ओतः is a compound of आ+ओतः ॥ Thus गो+अम् = गाम्, गो+अस् = गाः ॥ Thus गां पश्य, गाः पश्यः ॥ This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. I. 90. So also द्यां or द्याः पश्य; as the word द्यो is also a nominal stem ending in ओ ॥ The Sârvanâmsthâna affixes are णित् after this word also (see VII. I. 90) which would have caused Vṛiddhi, therefore, this आ debars the Vṛiddhi. The word अम् here means the affix of the Accusative Singular, as it is read in connection with the case-affix शस्, and as the word सुप् of the last sûtra governs this also. Therefore अम् the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant: thus we have अचिनवम्, असुनवम् ॥

एङि पररूपम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङि, पररूपम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव, उपसर्गाद्धाताविति च। अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादेङादौ धातौ पूर्वपरयोः पररूपमेकादेशो भवति॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शकन्ध्वादिषु पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एवे चानियोगे पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ ओत्वोष्ठयोः समासे वा पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एमन्नादिषु छन्दसि पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥

94. For the अ or आ of the Preposition+ए or ओ of a verbal root, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The words आत्, उपसर्गाद्धातौ are understood here. In an upasarga ending in अ or आ followed by a root beginning with ए or ओ, the vowels coalesce and the single-substitute is the form of the second vowel (पररूप) ॥ This debars Vṛiddhi taught in VI. I. 88. Thus उपेलयति, प्रेलयति, उपोषति, प्रोषति ॥ Some read into this sûtra the option allowed by VI. I. 92, according to them the para-rûpa substitution is optional in the case of Denominative roots. Thus उपेडकीयति or उपैडकीयति, उपोदनीयति or उपौदनीयति ॥

Vârt:—The Para-rûpa substitution takes place in the case of शकन्धुः &c. As शक+अन्धुः = शकन्धुः, कुल+अटा = कुलटा, सीम+अन्तः = सीमन्तः 'hair'; when not referring to 'hair', the form is सीमान्तः ॥

Vârt:—The Para-rûpa substitution takes place when एव follows a word, and the sense is not that of 'appointment'. Thus इह+एव = इहेव; अद्य+एव = अद्येव ॥ When the sense is that of नियोग, the Vṛiddhi takes place: as इहैव भव, माऽन्यत्र गाः ॥

Vârt:—The Para-rûpa substitution takes place optionally when ओतु and ओष्ठ are compounded with another word: as स्थूल ओतुः = स्थूलौतुः or स्थूलोतुः, so also बिम्बौष्ठी or बिम्बोष्ठी ॥ When not a compound, the Vṛiddhi is compulsory: as तिष्ठ देवदत्तौष्ठं पश्य 'Stay Devadatta, see the lip'.

Vârt:—In the Vedas, the para-rûpa substitution takes place when एमन् &c. follow. Thus अपां त्वा एमन् = अपां त्वेमन् ॥ So also अपां त्वा ओद्मन् = अपां त्वोद्मन् ॥

ओमाङोश्च ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओम् - आङोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव । अवर्णान्तादोमि आङि च परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

95. For the अ or आ + ओ of ओम्, or + the vowel of the Preposition आङ्, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The आत् is understood here. Thus का + ओम् = कोम् ; या + ओम् = योम् ; as कोमित्यवोचत्, योमित्यवोचत् ; आ + ऊढा = ओढा, then अद्य + ओढा = अद्योढा, कदा + ओढा = कदोढा, तदा + ओढा = तदोढा ॥ आ + ऋश्यात् = अर्श्यात्, then अद्य + अर्श्यात् = अद्यर्श्यात् ॥ Thus this rule supersedes both the Vṛiddhi and the lengthening (VI. 1. 88, and 101).

उस्यपदान्तात् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उसि, अपदान्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदित्येव । अवर्णादपदान्तादुसि पूर्वपरयोराद्गुणापवादः पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

96. For the अ or आ (not standing at the end of a Pada or full word) + उ of उस् the Tense-affix, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The आत् is understood here. This debars the guṇa substitution taught in VI. 1. 87. Thus भिन्द्या + उस् = भिन्द्युः, छिन्द्या + उस् = छिन्द्युः ॥ अदा + उस् = अदुः, (लुङ् of दा) अया + उस् = अयुः ॥ All these are examples of लिङ् (Potential) and लङ् (Imperfect). Thus भिन्द् + यासुट् + झि (the यासुट् is added by III. 4. 103) = भिन्द् + य + उस् (जुस् replaced झि III. 4. 108) = भिन्द्युस् ॥ अदा + सिच् + झि = अदा + 0 (II. 4. 77) + जुस् (III. 4. 110) = अदा + उस् = अदुः ॥ अ + या + झि = अ + या + उस् (VI. 4. 111) = अयुः ॥ The उस् is also the substitute of झि in लिट् (Perfect) see III. 4. 82. When the preceding vowel is not अ or आ, this rule does not apply. Thus the 3rd per. pl. of the Perfect of कृ is :—चक्रु + उस् = चक्रुः ॥ So also from भी we have अबिभे + उस् = अबिभयुः ॥ The word अपदान्तात् 'not being final in a pada' does strictly speaking, serve no good purpose in this sùtra. For the *affix* उस् can never be added to a Pada, it must always be added to a stem, that has not yet risen to the rank of a Pada. If उस्, however, be taken as the syllable उस् (whether an affix or part of an affix or not), then the limitation of अपदान्तात् becomes valid. Thus का + उस्रा = कोस्रा, का + उषिता = कोषिता ॥ Most likely this word has been read here for the sake of the subsequent sútra or because उस् syllable is taken here and not merely the affix उस् ॥

अतो गुणे ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, गुणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदान्तादिति वर्त्तते । अकारादपदान्ताद्गुणे परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

97. Also when the short अ, not being final in a Pada, is followed by a Guṇa letter, then in the room of both the precedent and the subsequent—the single subitstute is the form of the subsequent i. e. the Guṇa.

Thus पच् + शप् + अन्ति = पच + अन्ति = पचन्ति so also यजन्ति ॥ This debars lengthening of VI. 1. 101. पच + ए = पचे, यज + ए = यजे, here the Vṛiddhi is debarred (VI. 1. 88). Why do we say "after the short vowel अ ?" Observe या + अन्ति = यान्ति, वान्ति ॥ Why do we say when followed by 'a Guṇa letter ?' Observe

अपच-।-इ = अपचे, अयजे ॥ When final in a Pada, this rule does not apply : as दण्ड-।-अग्रं = दण्डाग्रम्, यूपाग्रम्, क्षुद्राग्रम् ॥

अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतौ ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्य, अतः, इतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तमपरिस्फुटवर्णं तदनुकरणं परिस्फुटवर्णमेव केन चित्सादृश्येन तदव्यक्तमनुकरोति तस्य योऽच्छब्दस्तस्यादितौ पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनेकाच इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

98. The इ of इति is the single substitute for the अत् (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound)-।-इत ॥

The sound which is not distinct and clear, is called अव्यक्त; when some one utters distinctly something which has some resemblance to that sound, by some contrivance, it is called अनुकरण or imitation of that sound. Thus पटत्-।-इति = पटिति, घटत् + इति = घटिति, झटत् + इति = झटिति, छमत् + इति = छमिति ॥

Why do we say 'imitation of an inarticulate sound'? Observe जगत्-।-इति = जगदिति ॥ Why do we say "of अत्"? Observe मरद् + इतिं = मराडिति ॥ Why do we say when followed by इति ? Observe पटत् + अत्र = पटत्त्र ॥

Vârt:—This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following:—स्रत् + इति = स्रदिति ॥ How do you. explain the form घटदिति in the following:—घटदिति गम्भीरमम्बुदैर्नदितम् ॥ Here the word is not घटत्-।-इति but घटद्-।-इति ॥

नाम्रेडितस्यान्त्यस्य तु वा ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आम्रेडितस्य, अन्त्यस्य, तु, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्याम्रेडितस्य यो ऽच्छब्द इतौ तस्य पररूपं न भवति तस्य योन्त्यस्तकारस्तस्य वा भवति ॥

99. This substitution does not take place when a sound-imitation word is doubled, here, however, for the final त्-।-इ of इति, the single substitute is optionally इ (the second vowel).

Thus पटत्पटदिति or पटत्पटेति करोति (पटत्पटत् + इति = पटत्पट + इ + ति = पटत्पटेति) ॥ The word is doubled by VIII. I. 4. The para-rûpa substitution will take place when the whole word so reduplicated denotes a sound imitation, thus पटत्पटिति करोति ॥ Here we apply the precedeing sûtra. The âmreḍita is the name of the second member of the doubled word (VIII. I. 2).

नित्यमाम्रेडिते डाचि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, आम्रेडिते, डाचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यातो ऽन्त्यस्येति चानुवर्त्तते । डाच्परं यदाम्रेडितं तस्मिन्पूर्वस्याव्यक्तानुकरणस्याच्छब्दस्य योन्त्यस्तकारस्तस्य पूर्वस्य परस्य चाद्यस्य वर्णस्य नित्यं पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

100. Of such a doubled sound-imitation word, to which the affix आ is added which causes the elision of the final अत्, for the final त् of the first member and the initial

consonant of the second member, such subsequent consonant is always the single substitute.

Thus पटपटा करोति (V. 4. 57), दमदमा करोति ॥ पटत्पटत्+डाच् (V. 4. 57) = पटत्पटा = पटपटा (त्+प्=प्) ॥ This sûtra is really a Vârtika. When the affix डाच् (V. 4. 57) is added to पटत्, there is doubling of the word by the Vârtika under VIII. 1. 12: this doubling takes place before the final अत् is elided.

अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकः, सवर्णे, दीर्घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकः सवर्णे ऽचि परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने दीर्घ एकादेशो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सवर्णदीर्घत्वे ऋति ऋवा वचनम ॥ वा० ॥ लृति लृ वा वचनम् ॥

101. When a simple vowel is followed by a homogenous vowel, the corresponding long vowel is the single substitute for both the precedent and the subsequent vowels.

Thus दण्ड + अग्रम् = दण्डाग्रम्, दधि + इन्द्रः = दधीन्द्रः, मधु + उदके = मधूदके and होतृ + ऋश्य होतृश्यः ॥ Why do we say 'an अक् or simple vowel?' Observe अग्ने+ए = अग्नये ॥ Why do we say 'by a homogenous vowel?' Observe दधि+अत्र = दध्यत्र ॥ The word अचि is understood here also. The word सवर्णे, therefore, qualifies the word अचि understood. The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows. As कुमारी शेते ॥ The ई and श are homogenous, in spite of I. 1. 10 : for that prohibition does not apply to the long ई and श, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः (I. 1. 69) is not brought into operation at the time when नाज् झलौ (I. 1. 10) rule operates, because of its being a portion of सवर्ण rule. Therefore, so long as it does not come into operation it is not accomplished. Therefore first the rule of नाज् झलौ comes into play, then the rule of सवर्ण definition (I. 1. 9) and then comes the ग्रहणकवाक्यं (I. 1. 68). Therefore in नाज् झलौ those अच् only are taken which are not included in the *class* of homogenous vowels i. e. only the 9 vowels contained *directly* in अच्, and not the सवर्ण vowels which I. 1. 68 would have denoted. Therefore though *short* इ and श are not सवर्ण by I. 1. 10 : the *long* ई and श would be savarṇa.

Vârt :—When ऋ short is followed by ऋ short, the long substitution is optional : so also with लृ ॥ This vârtika is necessitated because (1) the two ऋ or लृ—the precedent and the subsequent—are not homogenous, because one is samvṛita and the other vivṛita, or (2) because their prosodial length is 1½ and so the word दीर्घ cannot be applied with consistency in their case (ऋकाल &c). Thus होतृऋकारः = होतृकारः or होतॄकारः, so also होतृ+लृकारः = होतॢकारः or होतॢकारः ॥ The दीर्घ of लृ is ॠ ॥

प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमयोः, पूर्व - सवर्णः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक इति दीर्घ इति वर्तते । प्रथमाशब्दो विभक्तिविशेषे रूढस्तत्साहचर्यात् द्वितीयापि प्रथमेत्युक्ता । तस्यां प्रथमायां द्वितीयायां च विभक्तावचि अकः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घ एकादेशो भवति ॥

102. For the simple vowel of a nominal-stem and for the vowel of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative in all numbers, there is the single substitution of a long vowel corresponding to the first vowel.

The words अकः and दाघः are both understood here. The word प्रथमा here means the प्रथमा विभक्ति i. e. the 1st case or the Nominative, and includes here the द्वितीया विभक्ति also. This sûtra teaches the substitution of a पूर्वरूप or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. Thus अग्नि-।-औ = अग्नी ; वायु-।-औ = वायू ; वृक्ष-।-अस् = वृक्षाः, so also प्लक्षाः, वृक्षान्, प्लक्षान् ॥ In the case of these last four examples (वृक्ष-।-अस &c) the rule VI. 1. 97 would have caused para-rûpa substitution i. e. would have given the form वृक्ष-।-अस् = वृक्षः, and that rule would have debarred the lengthening rule VI. 1. 101 on the maxim "apavâdas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavâda operations, supersede those rules that stand nearest to them :" but not this पूर्वसवर्ण lengthening rule as it does not stand nearest. The word अचि 'when a vowel follows' is understood here also. Thus वृक्ष-।-स् = वृक्षः, प्लक्षः ॥ The word अक् 'the simple vowel' is understood here also. Thus नौ-।-औ = नावौ ॥ Why do we say 'a vowel homogenous to the antecedent?' The substitute will not be one homogenous to the second or the subsequent vowel. The दीर्घ or 'long' is used in order to debar the substitution of pluta vowel having 3 measures for a pluta vowel.

तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, शसः, नः, पुंसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मात्पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घादुत्तरस्य शसो ऽवयवस्य सकारस्य पुंसि नकारादेशो भवति ॥

103. After such a long vowel homogenous with the first, न् is substituted for the स् of the Accusative case affix शस् in the masculine.

Thus वृक्ष-।-शस् = वृक्ष-।-अन् = वृक्षान् ॥ So also अग्नीन्, वायून्, कर्तॄन्, होतॄन्, पण्डकान् स्थूरान्, अरकान्, पश्य &c. All these are masculine nouns. Now the word चञ्चा formed by the elision of कन् meaning a figure like a चञ्चा (V. 3. 98), may refer to both the males and females. It will however retain its feminine form though referring to a male being (See लुपि युक्तवद् व्यक्ति वचने I. 2. 51). In forming the accusative plural of चंचा, the स् will not be changed into न् ॥ Thus चंचाः पश्य, वध्रिकाः पश्य ॥ Why do we say 'after *such* a long vowel homogenous with the first'? The rule will not apply if the long vowel has resulted by being a single substitute for the antecedent and the subsequent. Thus आ is substituted for ओ-।-अ by VI. 1. 93. Here स् will not be replaced by न् as गाः पश्य ॥ Why do we say 'of the Accusative plural'? Observe वृक्षाः, प्लक्षाः endings in जस् Nom Pl. Why do we say "in the masculine?" Observe, धेनुः, बह्वीः, कुमारीः ॥

नादिचि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आत्, इचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवर्णादिचि पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न भवति ॥

104. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when अ or आ is followed by a vowel (other than अ) of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative.

Thus वृक्षौ, प्लक्षौ, खट्वे, कुण्डे ॥ Here Rules VI. 1. 87 &c. apply. Why do we say "after अ or आ?" Observe अग्नी ॥ Why do we say "followed by an इच् (a vowel other than अ)"? Observe वृक्षाः here VI. 1. 102 applies.

दीर्घाज्जसि च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, जसि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घाज्जसि इचि च परतः पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न भवति ॥

105. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when a long vowel is followed by a nominative or accusative case-affix beginning with a vowel (other than अ) or by the Nom. Pl. affix अस् ॥

Thus कुमार्यौ, कुमार्यः, ब्रह्मबन्ध्वौ, ब्रह्मबन्ध्वः ॥

वा छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घाच्छन्दसि विषये जसि च इचि च परतो वा पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न भवति ॥

106. In the Vedas, the long vowel may optionally be the single substitute of both vowels in these cases last mentioned.

Thus मारुतीः or मारुत्यः, पिण्डीः or पिण्ड्यः, वाराही or वाराह्यौ ; उपानही or उपानह्यौ ॥

अमि पूर्वः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमि, पूर्वः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक इत्येव । अमि परतोऽकः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्व एकादेशो भवति ॥

107. There is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the अ of the case ending अम् ॥

The word अकः is understood here. Thus वृक्ष+अम्=वृक्षम् (VII. 1. 24) प्लक्षम्, अग्नि+अम्=अग्निम्, वायुम् ॥ The word पूर्व 'antecedent, first' in the sûtra shows that the first vowel itself is substituted and not any of its homogenous vowels. Otherwise in कुमारी+अम्=कुमारीम् the ई would have been of three mâtrâs or measures, as it comes in the room of ई+अ, the aggregate mâtrâs of which are three.

In the Vedas, there is option, as शमीं or शम्यं, गौरीं or गौर्यम् ॥ अम् is the

ending of the Accusative singular of all genders and also of the nominative singular in the Neuter in certain cases. (See VII. 1. 23, 24 and 28).

संप्रसारणाच्च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्प्रसारणात्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व इत्येव । संप्रसारणादचि परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्व एकादेशो भवति ॥

108. There is the single substitution of the first vowel for the vocalised semivowel and the subsequent vowel.

The word पूर्वः is understood here. When a vocalised semi-vowel is followed by a vowel, the vocalised vowel is alone substituted, the subsequent vowel merging in it. Thus यज्+क्त = इअज्+क्त (VI. 1. 15) = इष्टम् (इ+अ = इ); so उप्तम् (वप्+क्त = उ अप्+त), ग्रह्+इत = गृ अह्+इत = गृहीतं ॥ Had there not been this merging, the vocalisation would become either useless or the two vowels would have been heard separately without sandhi. Thus in वप्+त=उअप्+त, if the अ did not merge in उ, then it would cause sandhi, and उ would be changed to व् by इकोयणचि and the word would again assume the form वप् ॥ But this यणादेश would caues samprasarâṇa rule non-effective, hence it follows that but for the present rule, the two vowels would have been heard separately as उ अप्त ॥

The rule of option in the Chhandas (VI. 1. 106) applies here also. Thus we have यज्यमानौ मित्रावरुणौ or इज्यमानौ ॥ "When you have just said that the two vowels will remain separate and there will be no यणादेश when there is no purvavad-bhâva we do you form यज्यमान् ; it ought to be इ अज्यमान् "? We have only said that vocalisation rule becomes useless if there was not this rule of merging of the subsquent vowel; but where there is this rule of purva-vad-bhâva, and only an *option* is allowed, then the rule of vocalisation does not become totally useless because it finds its scope in cases like इष्टः &c, therefore when in the *alternative* it is not applied, there यणादेश will take place naturally, and the ordinary rules of sandhi will apply. The merging, moreover, refers to the vowel which is in the same aṅga or base with the samprasâraṇa. Thus शकान् ह्वयात = शकह्वा + क्विप् = शकह् उ आ = शकहू ॥ Here आ which is in the same अङ्ग with ह् merges in to उ ॥ But in forming the dual, we have शकहू + औ ॥ Here औ coming after the samprasâṛana ऊ does not merge therein, and we have शकह्वौ ॥ Similarly शकहू + अर्थं = शकह्वर्थम् ॥ In fact when *once* the para-purvatva has taken effect, then subsequent vowels will produce their effect because in the antaranga operation इ अ ष्ट into इष्ट, the purva-rupa is ordained to save the samprasâraṇa from modification, but there is no such necessity when a Bahiranga operation is to be applied.

एङः पदान्तादति ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङः, पदान्तात्, अति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ् यः पदान्तस्तस्मादति परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्वरूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

109. In the room of ए or ओ final in a Pada, and the short अ, which follows it, is substituted the single vowel of the form of the first (ए or ओ) ॥

Thus अग्ने+अत्र = अग्नेऽत्र, वायो+अत्र = वायोऽत्र ॥ This supersedes the substitutes अय् and अव् ॥ Why do we say 'of ए or ओ'? Observe दध्यत्र, मध्वत्र ॥ Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe चे+अन = चयनम्, लो+अन = लवनम् ॥ Here the ए or ओ are in the body of the word, and not at the end of a word. Why do we say "when followed by a short अ'? Observe वायो+इति = वायविति, भानो+इति = भानविति ॥ Why do we say 'short'? Observe वायो आयाहि = वायवायाहि ॥

ङसिङसोश्च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ ङसिङसोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ इति वर्त्तते, अतीतिच । एङ उत्तरयोर्ङसिङसोरति परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्व एकादेशो भवति ॥

110. In the room of ए or ओ (in the body of a word),+अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive Singular, the single substitute is the form of the precedent.

Thus अग्ने+अस् = अग्नेः, वायोः ॥ The इ and उ of अग्नि and वायु are gunated by VII. 3. 111. This sûtra applies when the ए or ओ are in the middle of a word and not padânta, as in the last. Thus अग्नेरागच्छति, वायोरागच्छति, अग्नेः स्वम्, वायोः स्वम् ॥

ऋत उत् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, उत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङसिङसोरित्येव ऋकारान्तादुत्तरयोर्ङसिङसोरति पूर्वपरयोरुकार एकादेशो भवति ॥

111. In the room of ऋ+अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, the single substitute is the letter short उ ॥

Thus होतृ+अस् = होतुर्स् (The उ must always be followed by र् I. 1. 51 though this उ is not the substitute of ऋ only, but of ऋ + अ conjointly: on the maxim that a substitute which replaces *two*, both shown in the genitive case, as ऋतः and अकारस्य in this sûtra, gets the attributes of every one of these separately as the son C of a father A and mother B (though both conjointly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A or the son of B. So the उ may be called the substitute of ऋ or अ) ॥ The final स् is then elided by VIII. 2. 24 and we have होतुर् = होतुः ॥ Thus होतुरागच्छति, होतुः स्वम् ॥

ख्यत्यात्परस्य ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ख्य - त्यात्-, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङसिङसोरिति वर्त्तते उदिति च । ख्यत्यादिति खिशब्दखीशब्दयोस्तिशब्दतीशब्दयोश्चकृतयणादेशयोरिदंग्रहणं, ताभ्यां परस्य ङसि ङसोरत उकारादेशो भवति ॥

112. There is the substitution of उ for the अ of

अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, after सखि and पति, when for the इ of those two stems य् is substituted.

The phrase ङसिङसोः and उत् are understood here also. The ख्य means and includes खि and खी when the इ is changed to य, and त्य denotes ति and ती, the इ being changed to य ॥ Thus सखि+अस् = सख्युः as सख्युरागच्छति, सख्युः स्वम् ॥ So also पत्युरागच्छति, पत्युः स्वम् ॥ The illustration of खी is सखी which is derived from the Denominative Verb thus: सहखेन वर्तते = सखः, सखमिच्छति = सख+क्यच् (III. 1. 8) = सखीय (VII. 4. 3). Now by adding क्विप् to the denominative root सखीय we get सखीः 'one who wishes for a friend'. The Ablative and Genitive Singular of this word will be सखी+अस् = सख्युः also. Of ती we have the following example. लूनमिच्छति = लूनीय, add क्विप् = लूनीः, the Ablative and Genitive singular of which is also लून्युः, the न् of लूनी being the substitute of त् of Nishṭhâ, is considered like त् (VIII. 2. 1). The peculiar exhibition of ख्य and त्य in the sûtra, instead of saying directly सखिपतिभ्यां indicates that the rule does not apply to words like अतिसखि &c: where we have अतिसखेः, सेनापतेः ॥ The word अतिसखि is घि in spite of the prohibition (I. 4. 7), for that prohibition applies only to सखि and not to a compound which ends in it, on the maxim ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति ॥ "That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prâtipadika does (contrary to I. 1. 72) not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". According to Dr. Ballantyne this rule applies to all खी and ती, such as सुखीः one who loves pleasure' (सुखमिच्छति = सुखयि+क्विप्). and सुतीः 'one who wishes a son' (सुतमिच्छति = सुतीय+क्विप्): Thus सुख्युः, सुत्युः &c.

अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, रोः, अप्लुतात्, अप्लुते, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति, उदिति वर्त्तते । अकाराप्लुतादुत्तरस्य रोरेफस्य उकारानुबन्धविशिष्टस्य अकारे ऽप्लुते परत उकारादेशो भवति ॥

113. The उ is the substitute of रु (the र् substitute of a final स् VIII. 2. 66) when an अ, which is not a *pluta*, both precedes and follows it.

The phrase उत् is understood here, as well as the word अात of VI. 1. 109, 111. Thus वृक्ष+सु (1st singular) = वृक्षस् = वृक्षर् (VIII. 2. 66). वृक्षर्+अत्र = वृक्षउ+अत्र = वृक्षो+अत्र (VI. 1. 87) = वृक्षोऽत्र (VI. 1. 109); so also प्लक्षोऽत्र ॥ This ordains उ for र्, whereby VIII. 3. 17, there would have been otherwise य; and this उ does not become asiddha (as it depends upon रु VIII. 2. 66) for the purposes of VIII. 3. 17, as it otherwise would have been by VIII. 2. 1.

Why do we say 'after an अ'? Observe अग्निर्+अत्र = अग्निरत्र ॥ Why do say 'a *short* अ'? Observe वृक्षाः+अत्र = वृक्षा अत्र ॥ Why do we use रु with its indicatory उ, and not use the र् generally? Observe स्वर्+अत्र = स्वरत्र, प्रातर्+अत्र प्रातरत्र ॥ Here the final र् is part of the words, and is not produced from स् ॥

The word भति is understood here also from VI. 1. 109. The र must be *followed* by a short अ, therefore, not here: वृक्षर्+इह = वृक्ष इह ॥ The subsequent अ must be short, the rule does not apply here वृक्षर्+आश्रितः = वृक्ष आश्रितः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by an apluta अ'? The rule will not apply if a Pluta vowel precedes it. As, सुस्रोता ३ अत्र त्वमसि (VIII. 2. 84). Why do we say "when followed by an apluta अ"? Observe तिष्ठतु पय आ३ग्निदत्त (VIII. 2. 86). Here प्लुत being held asiddha, there would have been उ substitution, had not the phrase अप्लुतं been used in the aphorism.

हशि च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हशि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हशि च परतो ऽत उत्तरस्य रोरुकारादेशो भवति ॥

114. The उ is the substitute of रु (the र् substitute of स् VIII. 2. 66) when it is followed by a soft consonant and preceded by an apluta short अ ॥

The हश् pratyâhâra includes all sonants or soft consonants. Thus पुरुषो याति or हसति or ददाति &c.

प्रकृत्या ऽन्तःपादमव्यपरे ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, अन्तः-पादम्, अव्यपरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङो ऽतीत्येव । एङ इति यत्पञ्चम्यन्तमनुवर्त्तते तदर्थादिह प्रथमान्तं भवति । प्रकृतिरिति स्वभावः कारणं वा ऽभिधीयते । अन्तरित्यव्ययमधिकरणभूतं मध्यमाचष्टे । पादशब्देन च ऋक्पादस्यैव ग्रहणमिष्यते न तु श्लोकपादस्य । अवकारयकारपरे ऽति परत एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

115. The final ए or ओ and the following अ when occurring in the middle half of a foot of a Vedic verse, retain their original forms, except when the अ is followed by व् or य् ॥

The word एङः is understood here, but it should be construed here in the nominative case and not in the Ablative. The word प्रकृति means 'original nature, cause'. The word अन्तर् is an Indeclinable, used in the Locative case here and means 'in the middle'. The word पादः 'the foot of a verse' refers to the verses of the Vedas, and not to the verses of secular poetry. The word अति is also understood here. Thus ते अग्रे अश्वमायुञ्जन्; ते अस्मिन् जवमादधुः, उपप्रयन्तो अध्वरम्; शिरो अपश्यम्; सुजाते अश्वसूनृते (R. Veda. V. 79. 1); अध्वर्यो अद्रिभिः सुतम् (Rig IX. 51. 1); शुक्रं ते अन्यत् (Rig. VI. 58. 1).

Why do we say 'in the inner half of a foot of a verse?' Observe कया मती कुत एतास एतेऽर्चन्ति ॥ Why do we say "when व् or य् does not follow अ?" Observe तेऽवदन् (Rig X. 109. 1), तेऽयस्मयम् ॥ Why do we say ए or ओ? Observe अन्वग्निरुषसामग्रमख्यत् ॥ Some read this sûtra as नान्तः पादमव्यपरे ॥ According to them, this sûtra supersedes the whole rule of juxtaposition or संहिता (VI. 1. 72).

अव्यादवद्यादवक्रमुरव्रतायमवन्त्ववस्युषु च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यात्, अवद्यात्, अवक्रमुः, अव्रत, अयम, अवन्तु, अवस्युषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यात् अवद्यात् अवक्रमुः अव्रत अयम् अवन्तु अवस्यु इत्येतेषु यकारवकारपरेष्वाति परतोऽन्तःपादमेङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

116. The ए or ओ retain their original form in the middle of a Vedic verse, when the following words come after them (though the अ in these has a व् and य् following it) :— अव्यात्, अवद्यात्, अवक्रमुः, अव्रत, अयम्, अवन्तु, अवस्यु ॥

Thus अग्निः प्रथमोवसुभिर्नो अव्यात् ॥ मित्रमहो अवद्यात् (Rig IV. 4. 15), मा शिवासो अवक्रमुः (Rig VII. 32. 27); ते नो अव्रताः (Not in the Rig Veda). Prof. Bohtlingk gives the following examples from the Rig Veda :—सीक्षन्तो अव्रतम (VI. 14. 3), संदहन्तो अव्रतान् (IX. 73. 5), कर्तें अव्रतान् (IX. 73. 8). शतधारो अयं मणिः, ते नो अवन्तु पितरः (Not in the Rig Veda: according to Prof. Bohtlingk the अ of अवन्तु is generally elided in the Veda after ए or आ) कुशिकासो अवस्यवः (Rig III. 42. 9).

यजुष्युरः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजुषि, उरः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्द एङन्तो यजुषि विषये ऽति प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

117. In the Yajur-Veda, the word उरस् when changed to उरो, retains its original form when followed by a short अ which is also retained.

Thus उरो अन्तरिक्षम् (Yaj. Veda Vajasan. IV. 7). Some read the sûtra as यजुष्युरोः ॥ They take the word as उरु ending in उ, which in the Vocative case assumes the form उरो ॥ They give the following example उरो अन्तरिक्षं सजूर ॥ But in the Yajur Veda VI. 11, the text reads उरोरन्तरिक्षत् सजूः ॥ In the Yajur Veda, there being no stanzas, the condition of अन्तः पादं does not apply here.

आपोजुषाणोवृष्णोवर्षिष्ठेम्बेम्बालेम्बिकेपूर्वे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपः, जुषाणः, वृष्णोः, वर्षिष्ठे, अम्बे, अम्बाले, अम्बिके, पूर्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । आपो जुषाणो वृष्णो वर्षिष्ठे इत्येते शब्दा अम्बे अम्बाले इत्येतौ च यावम्बिकेशब्दात्पूर्वौ यजुषि पठितौ त आति परतः प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

118. In the Yajur Veda, the short अ is retained after आपो, जुषानो, वृष्णो, वर्षिष्ठे, and also in and after अम्बे or अम्बाले when they stand before अम्बिके ॥

Thus आपो अस्मान् मातरः शुन्धयन्तु (Yaj. IV. 2). जुषाणो अप्तुराज्यस्य (Yaj. V. 35), वृष्णो अंशुभ्यां गभस्ति पूतः (Yaj. VII. 1). वर्षिष्ठे अधिनाके ॥ The Vajasaneyi Sanhita has वर्षिष्ठऽधि (V. S I. 22): The Taittariya Sanhita has वर्षिष्ठे अधि ॥ (I. 1. 8. 1. 4, 43, 2. 5. 5. 4) अम्बे अम्बाले अम्बिके (V. S. 23. 18 where the reading is अम्बे अम्बिकेऽम्बालिके) but Tait S. VII. 4. 19. 1, and Tait Br. III. 9. 6. 3 has अम्बे अम्बाल्यम्बिके ॥ The words अम्बे &c, though in the Vocative, do not shorten their vowel by VII. 3. 107, because they have been so read here.

अङ्गइत्यादौ च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गे, इति-आदौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गशब्दे य एङ् तदादौ चाकारे यः पूर्वः स यजुषि विषये ऽति प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

119. In the Yajur Veda, when the word अङ्गे is followed by अङ्गे, the subsequent short अ is retained, as well as the preceding ए or ओ ॥

Thus ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे अदाध्यत्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निदीध्यत्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निदीतः, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे अशोचिषम् (Yaj. 6. 20).

अनुदात्ते च कुधपरे ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्ते, च, कु-धपरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । अनुदात्ते चाति कवर्गधकारपरे परतो यजुषि विषये एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

120. In the Yajur Veda, when an anudâtta अ is followed by a Guttural or a ध, the antecedent ए or ओ retains its form, as well as this subsequent अ ॥

Thus अयं सो अग्निः (Yaj. 12. 47), अयं सो अध्वरः ॥ Why do we say when अ is gravely accented? Observe अधोऽग्ने, here अग्ने has acute accent on the first syllable. Why do we say "when followed by a Guttural (कु) or a ध"? Observe सोऽयमग्निः सहस्रियः ॥

अवपथासि च ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवपथासि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । अनुदात्तइति चशब्देनानुकृष्यते । अवपथाःशब्दे ऽनुदात्ते ऽकारादौ परतो यजुषि विषयएङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

121. In the Yajur Veda, when the gravely accented अ of अवपथास् follows ए or ओ, the vowels retain their original form.

Thus त्री रुद्रेभ्यो अवपथाः ॥ The word अवपथाः is 2nd per. Singular Imperfect of वप in the Atmanepada. Thus अ-।-वप्-।-शप्-।-थास् ॥ The अ is grave by VIII. 1. 28. When it is not gravely accented, the अ drops. As यद्रुद्रेभ्यो ऽवपथाः ॥ Here अ is not grave by virtue of VIII. 1. 30.

सर्वत्र विभाषा गोः ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, विभाषा, गोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र, छन्दसि भाषायां चाति परतो गोरेङ् प्रकृत्या भवति विभाषा ॥

122. After गो the subsequent अ may optionally be retained everywhere, in the Vedas as well as in the secular literature.

Thus गोऽग्रं or गो अग्रं ॥ In the Vedas also अपशवो वा अन्ये गो अश्वेभ्यः, पशवो गोऽश्वाः ॥

अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवङ्, स्फोटायनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतीति निवृत्तम् । अचीत्येतत्त्वनुवर्त्ततएव । अचि परतो गोः स्फोटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेनावङा-देशो भवति ॥

123. According to the opinion of Sphoṭâyana, there is the substitution of अवङ् for the ओ of गो when it is followed by any vowel.

The anuvritti of अति ceases, that of आर्च manifests itself. Thus गो + अग्र = गवाग्रम्, so also गवाजिनम्, गवेडनम्, गवाष्ट्रम्, or in the alternative we have गोऽग्रम्, गोऽजिनम्, गवेडनम्, गवुष्ट्रम् ॥ The substitute अवङ् is accutely accented on the first syllable. This accent will be the original accent in the Bahuvrîhi compound (VI. 2. 1). Thus गावा अग्रमस्य = गवाग्रः ॥ In other places, however, this accent will be superseded by the samâsânta Udâtta accent (VI. 1. 223) The mention of Sphoṭâyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvrîtti of विभाषा was already understood in it. This is a vyavasthita vibhâshâ, hence in गवाक्षः the अवङ् substitution is compulsory and not optional.

इन्द्रे च नित्यम् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्द्रे, च, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रशब्दस्थे ऽचि परतो गोर्नित्यमवङादेशो भवति ॥

124. The substitution of अव for the ओ of गो is compulsory when a vowel to be found in the word इन्द्र follows it,

Thus गवेन्द्रः ॥ So also गवेन्द्र यज्ञः ॥ The word नित्य is not found in some texts or in Mahâbhâshya.

प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्लुताश्च प्रगृह्याश्चाचि प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

125. The Pluta (VIII. 2. 82 etc.) and Pragrihya (I. 1. 11 etc.) vowels remain unaltered when followed by a vowel (so far as the operation of that vowel is concerned).

Thus देवदत्ता ३ अत्र न्वसि, यज्ञदत्ता ३ इदम् आनय ॥ These are examples of prolated vowels. The prolation of vowels is taught in the tripâdi or the last three chapters of Ashtadhyâyi ; and the tripadi are considered asiddha for the purposes of previous sûtras (VIII. 2. 1.). This is not the case here, otherwise the mention of pluta would be redundant. Of the Excepted or Pragrihya vowels the following are the examples : अग्नी इति, वायू इति, खट्वे इति, माले इति ॥ Though the anuvritti of अचि was current in this sûtra from VI. 1. 77 : its repetition here is for the sake of ordaining प्रकृतिभाव ॥ That is, the pluta and the pragrihya retain their original forms when such a vowel follows which would have caused a substitution. Thus जानु उ अस्य, रुजति here in combining जानु + उ into जानू, the अ is no cause of lengthening, therefore, the lengthening will take place. Now since उ is a pragrihya, it follows that जानू which ends in ऊ is also a pra-

grihya, and therefore it should not be changed before अ of अस्य ॥ Hence we have the form जानू+अस्य=जानू अस्य ॥ There may also be the form जान्वस्य, not by इकोयणचि, but by मय उञो वो वा (VIII. 3. 33). In fact, the repetition of अचि in this sûtra is necessary, in order to enable us to give this *peculiar* meaning to the sûtra. Otherwise, had the sûtra been simply प्लुतप्रगृह्याः, it would have been translated ordinaeily thus: "The Pluta and Pragrihya retain their form, when ever a vowel follows". Therefore in जानु उ अस्य, since उ is followed by a vowel, it will retain its form, and will not coalesce with the उ of जानु ॥ But this is not intended. Hence the repetition of the word अचि, and the peculiar explanation given above, namely, Pluta and Pragrihya vowels retain their form before a vowel which would otherwise have caused a substitution, but it would not prevent the operation of any other rule. Therefore in जानु उ अस्य रुजति. the उ+उ will become lengthened, because अ is not the *cause* of lengthening; it causes the change of उ to व्, which of course is prevented. The word नित्य of the last sûtra is understood here also. These pluta and pragrihya always retain their form and are not influenced by the rule of shortening given in VI. 1. 127.

आङो ऽनुनासिकश्छन्दसि ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, अनुनासिकः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङो ऽचि परतःसंहितायां छन्दसि विषये ऽनुनासिकादेशो भवति स च प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

126. For the adverb आ, is substituted in the Chhandas the nasalised आँ, when a vowel follows it, and it retains its original form.

Thus अभ्र आँ अपः (Rig V. 48. 1); गभीर आँ उग्रपुत्रे जिघांसतः (Rig VIII. 67. 11). Some read the word बहुलं into this sûtra. Hence there is coalescence here: इन्द्रो बाहुभ्यामातरत्=आ अतरत् ॥

इको ऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, असवर्णे, शाकल्यस्य, ह्रस्वः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इको ऽसवर्णे ऽचि परतः शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन प्रकृत्या भवन्ति, ह्रस्वश्च तस्यकः स्थाने भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सिन्नित्यसमासयोः शाकलप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ ईषाअक्षादिषु छन्दसि प्रकृतिभावमात्र वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. According to the opinion of Śâkalya, the simple vowels with the exception of अ, when followed by a nonhomogenous vowel, retain their original forms; and if the vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus दधि अत्र, मधु अत्र, कुमारि अत्र, किशोरि अत्र ॥ In the alternative we have दध्यत्र, मध्वत्र, कुमार्यत्र, किशोर्यत्र ॥ Why do we say 'the इक् vowels i. e. simple vowels with the exception of अ'? Observe खट्वेन्द्रः ॥ Why do we say , followed by a non-homogenous vowel'? Observe कुमारीन्द्रः ॥ The name of

Śâkalya is mentioned for the sake of respect. Because the alternative nature of this sûtra is clear from its very formation.

Vart:—This rule of Śâkalya is prohibited in the case of words formed by an affix having an indicatory स् and of words which form invariable compounds (nitya samâsa):—Thus अयं ते योनिर्ऋत्वियः, प्रजां विराम ऋत्वियाम् The word ऋत्विय is formed by a सित् affix, namely by घस् (V. 1. 106), added to ऋतु; and therefore the उ is changed to व ॥ Before a सित् affix the previous word is considered a pada (I. 4. 16) Of nitya-compounds are वैयाकरणः, सौवश्वः, व्याकरणं, कुमार्यर्थम् which are so by II. 2. 18 &c.

Vârt:—In the Vedas ईषा अक्षः &c are found uncombined. As, ईषा अक्षा, का ईमिरे पिशंगिला, यथा अङ्गदः, पथा अगमन् &c.

ऋत्यकः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋति, अकः, (प्रकृत्याः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्चेत्येतदनुवर्त्तते । ऋकारे परतः शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाकः प्रकृत्या भवन्ति, ह्रस्वश्च तस्याकः स्थाने भवति ॥

128. According to the opinion of Śâkalya, the simple vowel followed by ऋ retains its original form, and if the simple vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus खट्व ऋश्यः, कुमारि ऋश्यः, होतृ ऋश्यः ॥ Why do we say when followed by ऋ? Observe, खट्वेन्द्रः ॥ Why do we say "the simple vowels (अकः)"? Observe वृक्षावृश्यः (वृक्षौ + ऋश्य) ॥ This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to इक् vowels as the last, but applies to अ and आ also.

अप्लुतवदुपस्थिते ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ , प्लुत - वत् , उपस्थिते, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपस्थितं नामानार्ष इतिकरणः समुदायादवच्छिद्य पदं येन स्वरूपे ऽवस्थाप्यते तस्मिन्परतो ऽप्लुतवद्भवति ॥ प्लुतकार्यं प्रकृति भावं न करोति ॥

129. Before the word इति in the Padapâṭha, a Pluta vowel is treated like an ordinary apluta vowel.

The word उपस्थित means the affixing of इति in non-Rishi texts; i. e. when a Vedic text is split up into its various padas or words and इति is added. That is in Padapâṭha, the Pluta is treated like an ordinary vowel, and hence there being no प्रकृतिभाव (VI. 1. 125), there is sandhi. Thus सुश्लोका३ इति = सुश्लोकेति, सुमङ्गला इति = सुमंगलेति ॥ Why have we used the word वत् "like as"; instead of saying "the Pluta becomes Apluta" why do we say "Pluṭa is treated like apluta"? By not using वत्, the whole Pluta itself would be changed into Apluta, and would give rise to the following incongruity. There is prakriti bhâva in the case of pluta and pragrihya. A vowel which is pluta need not be pragrihya, nor a pragrihya, a pluta. But where a vowel is both a pluta and a pragrihya at one and

the sametime, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual अग्नी or वायू, the इ and ऊ are pragrihya. They may be made pluta also a अग्ना ३ or वायू ३ ॥ Now if before इति, the pluta *became* apluta, then we shall not hear the prolation at all in अग्नी इति वायू इति formed by अग्नी ३ + इति &c. For here the vowels will retain their form by being pragrihya by VI. 1. 125, and in additon to that they will lose their pluta, by the present rule. But this is not intended. Hence the pluta is heard in अग्नी ३ इति, वायू ३ इति ॥

ई३ चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ई३ कारः प्लुतो ऽचि परतश्चाक्रवर्मणस्याचार्यस्य मतेनाप्लुतवद्भवति ॥

130. According to the the opinion of Châkravarmaṇa, the pluta ई ३ followed by a vowel is treated like an ordinary vowel.

Thus अस्तु हीत्यब्रवीत or अस्तु ही३ इत्यब्रवीत् ॥ चिनु हीदम् or चिनु ही३ इदम् ॥ The name of Châkravarmaṇa is used for the sake of making this an optional rule. This option applies to इति rule (VI. 1. 129) as well as to words other than इति ॥ In the case of इति it allows *sandhi* optionally, when by the last rule there would have been always sandhi. In the case of words other than इति, it ordains *prakriti bhâva* optionally, when there would have been always prakriti bhâva by VI. 1. 125. This is a case of उभयत्रविभाषा, prâpta and aprâpta both.

Ishti :—This apluta-vad-bhâva applies to pluta vowels other than ई ; as वशा ३ इयम् or वशेयम् ॥

दिव उत् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, उत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङः पदान्तादतीत्यतःपदग्रहणमनुवर्तते । दिव इति प्राति पदिकं गृह्यते न धातुः, सानुबन्धकत्वात् ॥

131. For the final of the nominal-stem दिव्, there is the substitution of उ, when it is a Pada (I. 4. 14 &c).

The portion पद ofthe word पदान्त must be read into this sûtra from VI. 1. 109. The word दिव् is here a nominal-stem and not a verbal-root. Thus दिवि कामो यस्य = द्युकामः, द्युमान्, विमलद्यु दिनं, द्युभ्याम्, द्युभिः ॥ We have said that दिव् is here a prâtipadika and not a dhâtu, for as a dhâtu it ought to have its servile letter anubandha and should have been read as दिवु ॥ In the case of its being used as a verb, there takes place the substitution of long ऊ for व् by VI. 4. 19. In that case we shall have अक्षद्यूभ्याम्, अक्षद्यूभिः ॥ The उत् with a त् shows that short उ is meant, and debars ऊठ (VI. 4. 19). In the case of ऊठ् substitution the forms will be द्यूभ्याम्, द्यूभिः ॥ The ऊठ् also comes because it is taught in a subsequent sûtra. Why do we say 'when it is a Pada'? Observe दिवौ, दिवः ॥

एतत्तदोः सु लोपो ऽकोरनञ्समासे हलि ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतत् - तदोः-, सु लोपः-, अकोः, अ - नञ् - समासे -, हलि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतत्तदौ यावककारौ नञ्समासे न वर्त्तेते तयोर्यः सुशब्दः कश्च तयोः सुशब्दो यस्तदर्थेन संबद्धस्तस्य संहितायां विषये हलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

132. After एतद् and तद् there is elision of the case-affix सु (of the nominative singular), when a consonant follows it, when these words are not combined with क (V. 3. 71) and have not the Negative Particle in composition.

Thus एषः + ददाति = एष ददाति, स ददाति, एषभुङ्क्ते, स भुङ्क्ते ॥ Why do we say of एतद् and तद्? Observe यो ददाति, यो भुङ्क्ते ॥ Why do say "the case affix of the Nom. singular?" Observe एतौ गावौ चरतः ॥ Why do we say 'without क'? Observe एषको ददाति, सको ददाति ॥ The words एतद् and तद् with the affix अकच्, which falls in the middle, would be considered just like एतद् and तद् without such affix, and in fact would be included in the words एतद् and तद्, hence the necessity of the prohibition. The general maxim is: तन्मध्यपतितस्तद् ग्रहणेन गृह्यते 'any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it".

Why do we say "when not compounded with the negative particle"? Observe अनेषो ददाति, असो ददाति ॥ In the compound with the negative particle नञ्, the second member is the principal and takes the case affixes. Why do we say 'when followed by a consonant'? Observe एषोऽत्र, सोऽत्र ॥

स्यश्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्यः, छन्दसि, बहुलम्, (सोः, लोपः,)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्य इत्येतस्य छन्दसि हलि परतो बहुलं सोर्लोपो भवति ॥

133. In the Chhandas, the case-affix of the nominative singular is diversely elided after स्य, when a consonant follows it.

Thus उत स्य वाजी क्षिपणिं तुरण्यति ग्रीवायां बद्धो अपिकक्ष आसनि (Rig IV. 40. 4), एष स्य ते मधुमाँ इन्द्र सोमः (Rig IX. 87, 4) ॥ Sometimes it does not take place: as यत्र स्यो निपतेत् ॥ The स्य means 'he'.

सो ऽचि लोपे चेत्पादपूरणम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अचि, लोपे, चेत्, पादपूरणम्-, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इत्येतस्याचि परतः सुलोपो भवति लोपे सति चेत्पादः पूर्यते ॥

Kârikâ सैष दाशरथी रामः, सैष राजा युधिष्ठिरः ॥
सैष कर्णो महात्यागी सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

134. The case-affix of सस् 'he', is elided before a vowel, if by such elision the metre of the foot becomes complete.

Thus सेदु राजा क्षयति चर्षणीनाम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सौषधीरनुरुध्यसे (Rig VIII. 43. 9). The case-ending being elided, the Sandhi takes place. Why do we say

'when by such elision the metre of the line is completed'? Observe स इव व्याघ्रो भवेत् ॥ The word अचि in the sûtra is for the sake of distinctness: for the purposes of metre would not have been served by eliding the affix before a consonant, for then the syllables would remain the same. It is by sandhi that a syllable is lessened; and sandhi would take place only with a vowel. Some explain the word पाद as 'a foot of a Śloka' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only. Thus we have:—सैष दाशरथी रामः, सैष राजा युधिष्ठिरः, सैष कर्णो महात्यागी, सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

सुट् कात्पूर्वः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, कात्, पूर्वः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोयं, पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायामिति यावत् । इत उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र सुडिति कात्पूर्व इति चैतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

135. Upto VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the following sentence is to be supplied in every aphorism:—"before क् is added स्" ॥

This is an adhikâra sûtra and extends upto VI. 1. 157. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, in all those, the phrase 'the augment सुट् is placed before the letter क्' should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VI. 1. 137 teaches "After सम्, परि and उप when followed by the verb कृ, the sense being that of adorning". Here the above phrase should be read into the sûtra to complete the sense, i. e. "the augment स् is added before the कृ of कृ when it is preceded by सम्, परि and उप, and the sense is that of adorning". Thus सम्+स्+कृ+तृ=संस्कर्ता, संस्कर्तुम्, संस्कर्तव्यम् ॥ In the succeeding aphorisms it will be seen that the augment सुट् comes only before those roots which begin with क ॥ What is then the necessity of using the phrase कात्पूर्वः in this sûtra? It is used to indicate that the स remains unattached to कृ, though it stands before it. Thus though कृ becomes स्कृ, yet the latter should not be considered to be a verb beginning with a conjunct (sanyoga) consonant: and therefore the guṇa taught in VII. 4. 10 (the root ending in ऋ and preceded by a conjunct letter, takes guṇa before लिट्) does not apply, nor do the rules like VII. 4. 29, nor the rules ordaining the addition of intermediate इट् (VII. 2. 43) by which the इट् would come in लिङ् and सिच् (Imperfect and Aorist): as, संस्कृषीष्ट and समस्कृत; and so also VII. 4. 29, does not apply as संस्क्रियते the Passive Imperfect (यक्ि लिङि) of संस्कृ ॥ If so, then the anudâtta accent taught in VIII. 1. 28 would not take place, since the augment सुट् would intervene between the non-तिङ्-word सं and the तिङन्त word करोति, thus संस्करोति would have accent on the verb. It is a maxim स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् 'in applying a rule relating to accent the intervening consonants are considered as if non-existent'; and therefore सुट् does not offer any intervention to the application of the rule VIII. 1. 28. If स् is not to be taken as attached to क, how do you explain

the guṇa in the Perfect 3rd Per. Dual and Plural in संचस्करतुः and संचस्करुः which apparently is done by applying VII. 4. 10. Though that rule strictly applies to roots beginning with a conjunct consonant, it will apply also to roots like संस्कृ which have a conjunct consonant for their penultimate; and the guṇa is done also on the maxim तन्मध्यपतितस्तद् ग्रहणेन गृह्यते (See VI. 1. 132). The indicatory ट् in सुट् is for the purpose of differentiating it from सु in the Sûtra VIII. 3. 70.

अडभ्यासव्यवायेपि ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अट्, अभ्यास - व्यवाये, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अड्व्यवाये ऽभ्यासव्यवाये सुट् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

136. The augment सुट् is placed before क even when the augment अट् (VI. 4. 71) or the Reduplicate intervenes (between the preposition and the verb).

Thus समस्करोत् (=सम्+अकरोत्), समस्कार्षीत्, संचस्कार (=सम्+चकार), परिचस्कार ॥ This sûtra is not that of Pânini, but is made out of two Vârtikas: अड् व्यवायउप संख्यानाम्; and अभ्यासव्यवाये च ॥ The augmented root स्कृ would have given the form चस्कार by VII. 4. 61, if स् be considered an integral part of कृ, and no rule of Antaranga and Bahiranga be taken into consideration. It might be said where is the necessity then of this sûtra? The operation relating to a Dhâtu and Upasarga is Antaranga, i. e. a root is first joined with the Upasarga, and it undergoes other operations afterwards. Therefore, first the augment सुट् is added, and then the अट् and अभ्यास operations take place. Thus संस्कृ is the form to which अट् and अभ्यास operations are to be applied. Now, we have said in the foregoing aphorism, that सुट् is considered as unattached to क; and therefore, the augment अट् may be added after this सुट्, and so also the reduplication may take place without it. Thus we may have the forms like संसकरोत् and संस्चकार ॥ But this is not desired, hence the necessity of the present sûtra teaching that even after अट् and reduplicate, the सुट् must be placed before क and no where else.

संपर्युपेभ्यः करोतौ भूषणे ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम् - परि - उपभ्येः, करोतौ, भूषणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् परि उप इत्येतेभ्यो भूषणार्थे करोतौ परतः सुट् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

137. The augment सुट् is placed before क when सम्, परि and उप are followed by the verb कृ and the sense is that of ornamenting.

Thus संस्कर्ता, संस्कर्तुम्, संस्कर्तव्यम् ॥ The म् of सम् is changed to anusvâra by VIII. 3. 5. So also परिष्कर्ता परिष्कर्तुं परिष्कर्तव्यम् ॥ The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 70. So also with उप, as उपस्कर्ता, उपस्कर्तुम् उपस्कर्तव्यम् ॥ Why do we say

'when meaning to ornament'? Observe उपकरोति ॥ Sometimes सुट् comes after सम् even when the sense is not that of ornamenting: thus संस्कृतमन्नम् ॥

समवाये च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समवाये, (च सुट्)

वृत्तिः ॥ समवायः समुदायस्तस्मिश्चार्थे करोतौ संपर्युपेभ्यः कात्पूर्वः सुडागमो भवति ॥

138. The augment सुट् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after सम्, परि and उप, the sense being that of combining.

The word समवाय means aggregation. Thus तत्र नः संस्कृतम् तत्र नः परिष्कृतम्, तत्र नः उपस्कृतम्=समुदितम् that is 'we assembled there'.

उपात्प्रतियत्नवैकृतवाक्याध्याहारेषु ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, प्रति, यत्न, वैकृत, वाक्य - अध्याहारेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सतो गुणान्तराधानमाधिक्याय वृद्धस्य वा तादवस्थ्याय समीहा प्रतियत्नः । विकृतमेव वैकृतम् । प्रज्ञादित्वादण् । गम्यमानार्थस्य वाक्यस्य स्वरूपेणोपादानं वाक्यस्याध्याहारः । एतेष्वर्थेषु गम्यमानेषु करोतौ धातौ परत उपात् सुट् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

139. The augment सुट् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after उप, and the sense is that of 'to take pains for something, to prepare, and to supply an ellipses in a discourse'.

To take pains in imparting a new quality to a thing in order to increase its value, or to keep it safe from deterioration is called प्रतियत्नः ॥ That which is prepared or altered is called वैकृतं ॥ The word वैकृतं is the same as विकृतं, the affix अण् being added without changing the sense, by considering it to belong to प्रज्ञादि class (V. 4. 38). To supply by distinct statement the sense of a sentence which is alluded to, is called the अध्याहार of a sentence. Thus in the sense of 'taking pains' we have एधोदकस्योपस्कुरुते (See I. 3. 32); काण्डगुणस्योपस्कुरुते ॥ In the sense of 'altering by preparing' we have: उपस्कृतं भुङ्क्ते, उपस्कृतं गच्छति ॥ In the sense of 'supplying a thesis' we have उपस्कृतं जल्पति, उपस्कृतमधीते ॥ When not having any one of the above five senses (VI. 1. 137-139) we have उपकरोति ॥

किरतौ लवने ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ किरतौ, लवने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादित्येव । उपादुत्तरस्मिन्किरतौ धातौ लवनविषये सुट् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ णमुलन्त्रवक्तव्यः ॥

140. The augment सुट् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after उप and the sense is that of 'to cut or split',

Thus उपस्कारं मद्रका लुनन्ति, उपस्कारं काश्मीरका लुनन्ति = विक्षिप्य लुनन्ति ॥

Vârt:—The above augment takes place when णमुल् is added to the verb उप-कृ, as shown in the above examples. When the meaning is not that of 'to cut', the form is उपकिरति ॥

हिंसायां प्रतेश्च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसायाम्, प्रतेः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किरताविल्येव । उपात्प्रतेश्चोत्तरस्मिन्किरतौ हिंसायां विषये सुट् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

141. The augment सुट् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after उप and प्रति, and the sense is "to cause suffering".

Thus उपस्कारणम् or प्रातस्काण हन्त ते वृषल भूयात् = तथा ते वृषल विक्षपो भूयाद् यथा हिंसामनुबध्नात ॥

Why do we say when 'the sense is to cause pain'? Observe प्रतिकर्णिम ॥

अपाच्चतुष्पाच्छकुनिष्वालेखने ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपात्, चतुष्पात् , शकुनिषुः, आलेखने (सुट्,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किरताविल्येव । अपादुत्तरस्मिन्किरतौ चतुष्पाच्छकुनिषु, यदालेखनं तस्मिन् विषये सुट् कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेष्वेव किरतेरात्मनेपदस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

142. The augment सुट् is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after अप and the sense is 'the scraping of earth by four-footed animals or birds'.

Thus अपस्किरते वृषभो हृष्टः, अपस्किरते कुक्कुटो भक्ष्यार्थी ; अपास्किरत श्वा आश्रयार्थी = आलिख्य विक्षिपति ॥ Why do we say 'four-footed animals or birds'? Observe अपकिरति देवदत्तः ॥

Vârt:—This rule applies when the scraping is through pleasure, or for the sake of finding food, or making a resting place. Therefore not here:— अपकिरति श्वा ओदनपिण्डमाशितः ॥ And it is in the above senses of scraping through pleasure &c, that the root takes Âtmanepada affixes; otherwise the Parasmaipada affixes will follow. See I, 3, 21. Vârt.

कुस्तुम्बुरूणि जातिः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुस्तुम्बुरूणि, जातिः, (सुट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुस्तुम्बुरूणीति सुट् निपात्यते जातिश्चेद्भवति ॥

143. The word कुस्तुम्बुरु is irregularly formed with the augment सुट् and means 'a species of herb'.

The कुस्तुम्बुरु is the name of coriander: i. e. धान्यकं; the seeds are also so called. The exhibition of the word in the sûtra in the Neuter gender does not however show that the word is always Neuter. When not meaning coriander, the form is कुतुम्बुरु (कुत्सितानि तुम्बुरूणि) ॥ The word तुम्बुरु here means the fruit of the ebony tree.

अपरस्पराः क्रियासातत्ये ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरस्पराः, क्रिया - सातत्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरस्परा इति सुट् निपात्यते क्रियासातत्ये गम्यमाने ॥

Kârikâ लुम्पेदवश्यमः कृत्ये तुंकाममनसोरपि ।
समो वा हिततयोर्मांसस्य पचियुड्घञोः ॥

144. The word **अपरस्पराः** is formed by the augment **सुट्** when the sense is that of 'uninterrupted action'.

Thus अपरस्पराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = सन्ततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्ति ॥ When the continuity of action is not meant, we have अपरपराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = अपरे परेच सकृदेव गच्छन्ति ॥ The सातत्य comes from सततं, by adding ष्यञ् to form the abstract noun, सततस्य भावः (V. I. 123) = सातत्यं ॥ How do you explain सततम्, it ought to be सन्ततम् ? The म् of सम् is optionally elided before ततं, on the strength of the Kârika:—"The म् of अवश्यम् is elided before a word ending in a kritya affix, the म् of तुम् is elided before काम and मनस्, the म् of सम् is elided optionally before हित and तत, the final अ of मांस is elided before पाक or पचन ॥ As (1) अवश्य कर्तव्यं = अवश्यकर्तव्यं, (2) भोक्तुम् कामः = भोक्तु कामः, श्रोतुमनः ॥ (3) सम्हितं = सहितं, सम् ततं = सततं ॥ (4) मांस् पाकः, मांस् पचनम् ॥

गोष्पदं सेवितासेवितप्रमाणेषु ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः-पदम्, सेवित - असेवित - प्रमाणेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोष्पदमिति सुट् निपात्यते तस्य च षत्वं सेविते ऽसेविते प्रमाणे च विषये ॥

145. The word **गोष्पद** is formed by **सुट्**, when meaning a locality visited or not visited by cows, or when it means a quantity.

Thus गोष्पदो देशः = गावः पद्यन्ते यस्मिन् देशे स गोभिः सेवितो देशः ॥ So also अगोष्पदान्यरण्यानि ॥ The word गोष्पद by itself does not mean 'not visited by cows'. Therefore the negative particle is added to give that sense. So also गोष्पदमात्रं क्षेत्रं, गोष्पदपूरं वृष्टो देवः ॥ Here the word has no reference to cow, but to the quantity of land and rain. When it has not the above senses, the form is गोपदम् = गोः पदम् ॥ What is the use of the word असेवित in the sûtra, the word गोष्पद will give अगोष्पद by adding the negative particle, न गोष्पद = अगोष्पद ? The force of नञ् compound is that of सदृश "like that but not that". As अब्राह्मण means "a man who is a Kshatrya &c. not a Brâhmana, but does not mean a stone &c". Therefore अगोष्पद with नञ् would mean "a place like a pasture land but in which cows do not graze, but in which there is a possibility of cows grazing". But it is intended that it should refer to a place where there is no such possibility, hence असेवित is used. Therefore, deep forests where cows can never enter, are called अगोष्पद ॥

आस्पदं प्रतिष्ठायाम् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आस्पदम्, प्रतिष्ठायाम्, (सुट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मयापनाय स्थानं प्रतिष्ठा तस्यामास्पदमिति सुट् निपात्यते ॥

146. The word आस्पद is formed by सुट when meaning 'a place or position'.

The word प्रतिष्ठा means 'firm place, established position, rank, dignity, authority'. Thus आस्पदम् अनेन लब्धम् ॥ Why do we say when 'meaning a place'? Observe आ पदात्=आपदम् ॥

आश्चर्यमनित्ये ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्चर्यम्, अनित्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्यतया विषयभूतया ऽद्भुतत्वमिहलक्ष्यते तस्मिन्नाश्चर्यं निपात्यते । चरेराङि चागुराविति यत्प्रत्यये कृते निपातनात्सुट् ॥

147. The word आश्चर्य is formed by सुट्, when meaning something 'unusual'.

The word आश्चर्य is formed by adding the affix यत् to the verb चर् with the preposition आ, and the augment सुट् ॥ Thus आश्चर्यं यदि स भुंजीत, आश्चर्यं यदि सो ऽधीयीत ॥ When not having this sense, we have आचर्यं कर्म शोभनम् ॥

वर्चस्के ऽवस्करः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्चस्के, अवस्करः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सितं वर्चो, वर्चस्कमन्नमलं, तस्मिन्नभिधेये ऽवस्कर इति निपात्यते । अवपूर्वस्य किरतेः कर्मणि ऋदोरप् इत्यप् निपातनात्सुट् ॥

148. The word अवस्कर is formed with सुट् meaning "excrement".

That which has bad lustre is called वर्चस्क (कुत्सितं) ॥ It applies to the ejected food. To the root कृ is added the affix अप् (III. 3. 57), the preposition अव and irregularly the सुट ॥ Thus अवस्करोऽन्नमलम् ॥ The place where the excreta lie (the rectum) is also so called. When not having this sense, we have अवकरः ॥

अपस्करो रथाङ्गम् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपस्करः, रथाङ्गम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपस्कर इति निपात्यते रथाङ्गं चेद्भवति । अपपूर्वात्किरतेर्ऋदोरबित्यप्, निपातनात् सुट् ॥

149. The word अपस्कर is formed with सुट् meaning 'the part of a chariot'.

This word is also derived from कृ with the preposition अप and the affix अप् (III. 3. 57) and सुट् augment. When not having this meaning, we have अपकरः ॥

विष्करः शकुनिर्विकिरो वा ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्करः, शकुनिः, विकिरः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकिर इति किरतेर्विपूर्वस्येगुपधज्ञाप्रीकिरः कः इति कप्रत्यये विहिते सुट् निपात्यते शकुनिश्चेद्भवति । विकिरशब्दाभिधेयो वा शकुनिर्भवति ॥

Verse सर्वे शकुनयो भक्ष्या विष्किराः कुक्कुटादते ।

150. The word विष्किर is formed with सुट् optionally when denoting a kind of bird, the other form being विकिर ॥

This word is formed by adding the affix क (III. I. 135) to कृ with the preposition वि and the augment सुट्॥ The word विकिर also refers to birds only, a kind of cock. The phrase शकुनिर्विकिरो वा is added from the Vârtika and is no part of the original sûtra. Thus सर्वे शकुनयो भक्ष्या विष्किराः कुक्कुटादृते॥ Though the sûtra विष्किरोवाशकुनौ would have given the optional form विकिर, the specific mention of this form in the sûtra indicates that विकिर always means 'bird' and nothing else. Otherwise विकिर would have refferred to some thing other than a bird.

ह्रस्वाच्चन्द्रोत्तरपदे मन्त्रे॥ १५१॥ पदानि॥ ह्रस्वात्, चन्द्रोत्तरपदे, मन्त्रे॥

वृत्तिः॥ चन्द्रशब्दउत्तरपदे ह्रस्वात्परः सुडागमो भवति मन्त्रविषये॥

151. In a Mantra, the सुट् is added to चन्द्र when it is second member in a compound and is preceded by a short vowel.

Thus सुश्चन्द्रो युष्मान्॥ Why do we say after a short vowel? Observe सूर्याचन्द्रमसाविव॥ Why do we say 'in a Mantra'? Observe, सुचन्द्रा पौर्णमासी॥ The उत्तरपद can only be in a compound (samâsa) as it is well-known to all. and it does not mean, 'the second word', as the literal meaning might convey: Therefore the rule does not apply here शुक्रमसि चन्द्रमसि॥

प्रतिष्कशश्च कशेः॥ १५२॥ पदानि॥ प्रतिष्कशः, च, कशेः॥

वृत्तिः॥ कश गतिशासनयोरित्येतस्य धातोः प्रतिपूर्वस्य पचाद्यचि कृते सुट् निपात्यते, तस्यैव षत्वम्॥

Verse मामम्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः।

152. To the root कश् 'to go, to punish', is added the augment सुट्, when preceded by the preposition प्रति, the form being प्रतिष्कशः॥

The word प्रतिष्कश is formed by adding अच affix (III. I. 134) to the root, with adding the prefix प्रति॥ Thus मामम्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः 'I shall inspect the town to-day, be thou my emissary'. The word प्रतिष्कशः means "a messenger, a herald, an emissary". Why do we say "to the *root* कश"? Observe प्रतिगतः कशां=प्रतिकशोऽश्वः 'a horse guided by the whip'. Here though कशा is derived from कश, yet the augment does not take place, because the augment comes to the *root* कश्, and not to a derivative word.

प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी॥ १५३॥ पदानि॥ प्रस्कण्व हरिश्चन्द्रौ, ऋषी॥

वृत्तिः॥ प्रस्कण्वो हरिश्चन्द्र इति सुट् निपात्यते ऋषी चेदभिधेयौ भवतः॥

153. The words प्रस्कण्व and हरिश्चन्द्र are formed by सुट्, meaning the two Rishis of that name.

Thus प्रस्कण्व ऋषिः, हरिश्चन्द्र ऋषिः॥ The word हरिश्चन्द्र could be formed by VI. I. 151 in the Mantra, here it refers to other than Mantras. When not referring to Rishis, we have प्रकण्वो देशः, (कण्वं पापं तत्प्रगतं यस्मात्) हरिश्चन्द्रो मानवकः (हरिः चन्द्रो यस्य मुग्धस्य)॥

मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मस्कर मस्करिणौ, वेणु परिव्राजकयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मस्कर मस्करिन् इत्येतौ यथासंख्यं वेणौ परिव्राजके च निपात्येते ॥

154. The word **मस्कर** means 'a bamboo', and **मस्करिन्** means 'a mendicant monk'.

When not having these meanings, the form is मकरः ॥ This is an underived nominal stem, having no derivation, to which सुट् is added when 'a bamboo' is meant; and the affix इनि in addition, when a mendicant is to be expressed and thus we have मस्कर and मस्करिन् ॥ Why do we say "when meaning a bamboo or a mendicant". Observe मकरोग्राहः "an alligator", मकरी समुद्र "an ocean". Some say the word मस्कर is a derivative word, being derived from कृ 'to do' with the negative particle मा and the affix अच्, the long आ being shortened. Thus मा क्रियते यन प्रतिषिध्यते=मस्करः 'a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made'. So also by adding इनि in the sense of ताच्छील्य to the root कृ preceded by the upapada मा; we get मस्करिन् ॥ Thus मा करणशीलो=मस्करी "a monk, who has renounced all works". A mendicant always says "मा कुरुतः कर्माणि शान्तिर्वः श्रेयसी"—"Do no works ye men, for peace is your highest end".

कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास्तीर, अजस्तुन्दे, नगरे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कास्तीर अजस्तुन्द इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते नगरे ऽभिधेये ॥

155. The words **कास्तीर** and **अजस्तुन्द** are names of cities.

When not meaning cities, we have कातीरम् (ईषत् तीरमस्य); and अजतुन्दम् (अजस्येव तुन्दमस्य) ॥

कारस्करो वृक्षः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारस्करः, वृक्षः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारस्कर इति सुट् निपात्यते वृक्षश्चेद्भवति ॥

156. The word **कारस्कर** means 'a tree'.

This word is formed from कार+कृ+ट (III. 2. 21)=कारस्करः ॥ When not meaning a tree, the form is कारकरः ॥ Some do not make this a separate sûtra, but include it in the next aphorism.

पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायाम् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पारस्कर प्रभृतीनि, च, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च शब्दरूपाणि निपात्यन्ते संज्ञायां विषये ॥

157. The words **पारस्कर** &c are Names.

These words are irregularly formed by adding सुट् ॥ Thus पारस्करः 'a country called Pâraskara'. कारस्करः 'N. of a tree', रथस्या 'N. of a river', किष्कुः 'N. of a measure', किष्किन्धा 'N. of a cave', तस्कर 'a thief', formed by inserting सुट् in the compound of तत्+कर, and eliding त् ॥ बृहस्पति 'N. of a Diety', formed similarly by inserting सुट् between बृहत्+पति and eliding the त् ॥ Why do we

say when meaning a thief and a diety? Observe तस्करः, बृहस्पतिः ॥ The words चोर and देवता are used in the Ganapâtha merely for the sake of diversity, the word संज्ञा would have connoted that प्रस्तुम्पति गौः ॥ When the root तुप तुम्प 'to injure' is preceded by the preposition प्र, there is added सुट् to प्र, when the agent of the verb is a cow. Why do we say 'when the agent is cow'? Observe प्रतुम्पति वनस्पतिः ॥ In प्रस्तुम्पति the सुट् is added to a finite verb, which is thus conjugated :—प्रस्तुम्पति गौः, प्रस्तुम्पती गावौ, प्रस्तुम्पन्ति गावः ॥ This is an âkritigaṇa. Thus प्रायश्चित्तम्, प्रायश्चित्तिः ॥

1 पारस्करो देशः, 2 कारस्करो वृक्षः, 3 रथस्या नदी, 4 किष्कुः प्रमाणम्, 5 किष्किन्धा गुहा, 6 तद्बृहतोः करपत्योश्चोरदेवतयोः सुट् तलोपश्च (तस्करः चोरः, बृहस्पतिः = देवता), 7 प्रात् तुम्पतौ गवि कर्तरि (प्रस्तुम्पति गौः) ॥ आकृतिगणः ॥

अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, पदम्, एक-वर्जम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिभाषेयं स्वरविधिविषया। यत्रान्यः स्वर उदात्तः स्वरितो वा विधीयते तत्रानुदात्तं पदमेकं वर्जयित्वा भवतीत्येतदुपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

Kârikâ आगमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्य च ।
पृथक्स्वरनिवृत्त्यर्थमेकवर्जं पदस्वरः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विभक्तिस्वरान्नञ्स्वरो बलीयानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ विभक्तिनिमित्तस्वराच्चनञ्स्वरो बलीयानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

158. A word is, with the exception of one syllable, unaccented.

That is, only one syllable in a word is accented, all the rest are anudâtta or unaccented. This is a Paribhâshâ or maxim of interpretation with regard to the laws of accent. Wherever an accent—be it acute (udâtta) or a circumflex (svarita)—is ordained with regard to a word, there this maxim must be applied, to make all the other syllables of that word unaccented. The word अनुदात्त means 'having an anudâtta vowel'. What is the *one* to be excepted? That one about which any particular accent has been taught in the rules here-in-after given. Thus VI. 1. 162 teaches that a root has acute accent on the final. Therefore, with the exception of the last syllable, all the other syllables are unaccented. Thus in गोपायँति the acute accent is on य, all the rest are unaccented. The root accent is superseded by श्ना accent, thus लुनाँति has acute accent on ना ॥ The श्ना accent is superseded by तस् accent, as लुनीतँः, has accent on तः ॥ The तस् accent is superseded by आम् accent, as लुनीतस्तराँम् ॥

आगमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्य च, पृथक् स्वरनिवृत्त्यर्थ मेकवर्जं पदस्वरः ॥ The words 'with the exception of one syllable' show that the separate accent of an augment, or a preparative element, or a stem or an affix should cease, when a particular accent is taught for a word'. Thus as to (1) augment:—VII. 1. 98 teaches "आम् acutely accented is the augment of चतुर् and अनडुह् when a sarvanâmsthâna affix follows". Thus चत्वाँरः, अनड्वाँहः, here the augment-accent

supersedes the accent of the stem, for चँतुर was acutely accented on the first syllable, so also अनँडुह् , these being formed by the affixes उरन् and असुन् respectively. Thus चत्+उरन्=चँतुर (चतेरुरन् Un V. 58, accent VI. 1. 197) ; अनडुह् is thus derived : अनो वहति=अनस्+वह्+क्विप्, the स् is replaced by ड्, and there is vocalisation of व् of वह् VI. 1. 15=अनँडुह् ॥ This word is formed by a Kṛit affix with a kârâka upapada, therefore, the second term will retain its original accent, namely the final acute of a root. (VI. 1. 162 and VI. 2. 139) अनस् itself is derived by adding the affix (Un IV. 189) असुन् which makes the word acutely accented on the first syllable. (2). Similarly as to विकार (Vikaraṇa):—VII. 1. 75 teaches "instead of अस्थि, दधि, सक्थि, and अक्षि, there shall be अनङ् acutely accented when टा follows or any of the subsequent terminations beginning with a vowel". This अन will supersede the acute accent of the first अ of the stem : as अस्थँनि ॥ The word अँस्थि is derived from अस् by adding the affix क्थिन् (Un III. 154) which makes the word accutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 197). This is an example of विकार ॥ (3) Similarly in गोपायति the accent of the stem taught in VI. 1. 162 'a root has an accent on its final', supersedes the accent of the vikaraṇa आय (III. 1. 28, 3), i. e. the acute accent on आ in आय gives way to the root-accent which makes य acute. (4) So also the accent of the affix supersedes that of the stem : as कर्त्तव्यम्, and हर्तव्यम्, which are formed by the affix तव्यत् (III. 1. 96) here VI. 1. 185 debars the accent of the root (VI. 1. 162).

The determination of the proper accent of a word depends upon considering the various rules that have gone to form it, and the sequence of those rules, e. g. a latter rule (पर) superseding a prior rule, a nitya rule superseding an anitya rule, an antaranga superseding a bahiranga, an apavâda rule superseding an utsarga rule. But another test is, what is the remaining rule that applies after giving scope to all. A rule, that in spite of another rule, finds scope or activity, bars that former rule. Thus गोपायति ॥ It is derived from गुँप् root, which as a root has accent on the syllable गु (VI. 1. 162). When the affix आय. is added to it by III. 1. 28, the word becomes गोपाँय and it takes the accent of the affix (III. 1. 3), i. e. the accent now falls on पा ; but now comes rule III. 1. 32 which says that a word taking the affix आय is a root. Thus गोपायँ gets the designation of root (धातु), and thus takes the accent of a dhâtu (VI. 1. 162), and the accent falls on य ॥

The rule is that except one special accent taught in a sûtra the other syllables take anudâtta. Therefore, where there is a conflict of rules, the accent is guided by the follwing maxim: "परनित्यान्तरङ्गापवादैः स्वरव्यवस्था सतिप्रकृतिशिष्टेनच" ॥ namely (1) the sequence, a succeeding rule setting aside a prior rule (2) a Nitya rule is stronger then Anitya, (3) Antaranga stronger than Bahiranga, (4) the Apavâda is stronger then Utsarga. When all these are exhausted, as we have illustrated above, then we apply the rule of सतिशिष्ट ॥ What is this rule? To quote the words of Kâsikâ: यो हि यस्मिन् सति शिष्यते स तस्य बाधको भवति "that which

does remain and must last in spite of the presence of another, debars such other". Thus in गोपायति; here the प्रत्ययस्वरः "the accent of the affix" (III. 1. 3) by which the acute is on the first syllable of the *affix* is an apavâda to the धातुस्वरः (VI. 1, 192) by which the final of a dhâtu is acute, and it debars the dhâtu-accent; but this affix-accent is in its turn debarred in the case of derivative verbs formed with affixes, by the rule of सतिशिष्ट, because even ofter the addition of the affix, these words *retain* the designation of dhâtu. Similarly in काष्णोंत्तरासङ्गपुत्रः, "The son of him whose upper garment (uttarâsanga) is of black color—the Son of Baladeva" the Bahuvrîhi-accent (VI.2.1) being an apavâda to Samâsa-accent (VI. 1.223), debars the samâsa-accent; but this Bahuvrîhi-accent is in its turn debarred by the rule of सतिशिष्ट when a further compound is formed and the final word is a compound only and not a Bahuvrîhi. Though the accent of the Vikarana is a सतिशिष्ट, yet it does not debar the Sârvadhâtuka accent (VI. 1. 186). Thus in लुनीतः, the accent of the vikarana नी does not debar the accent of तस् ॥

Vârt:—The नञ्-accent is stronger than the case-affix accent. Thus in अतिस्रः, here the accent of जस् vibhakti after तिसृ (VI. 1. 166) though सतिशिष्ट is debarred by नञ् accent taught in VI. 2. 2, for Negative compounds are Tatpurusha.

Vârt:—The accent of नञ् is stronger than the accent of that which is caused or occasioned by a vibhakti. Thus अचत्वारः ॥ Here the augment आम् in चत्वार is occasioned because of the case-affix, for it is added only then when a Sarvanâma case-affix follows (VII. 1. 98). This आँ is udâtta (VI. 1. 98). But this udâtta is superseded by the accent of the Negative particle.

Why do we say 'in the body of a *pada*'? In a *sentence*, every word will retain its accent. As दे॑वदत्त! गा॑मभ्याज शुक्लाँम् "O Devadatta, drive away the white cow". The word पद is in fact used in this sûtra in its secondary sense, namely that which will get the designation of पद when completed; had it meant the full ready made pada, this word would not have been repeated in पदाधिकार sûtra (VIII. 1. 16, 17). Had a full 'pada' been meant, the incongruity would arise in the following. The word कु॑वल is acutely accented on the first as belonging to ग्रामादि class (Phit II. 15), adding the feminine affix ङीष् to it by its belonging to गौरादि class, we get कुवली, which will retain its acute on the first because it is not technically a पद ॥ But it is not so, the word कुवली has anudâtta accent on the first syllable (Phit II. 15), and hence we can apply the अञ् affix to it by IV. 2. 44, thus कुवल्या विकारः=कौवलम् ॥ Similarly the word गार्भिणी formed from गर्भ॑ (belonging to Grâmâdi class Phit II. 15), with, the affix इनि (V. 2. 115) and the feminine ङीप् ॥ If here the affix इनि being udâtta causes all the rest syllables anudâtta, just at the very moment of its application, without seeing whether the word was a pada or not, then the word गार्भिणी being anudâttâdi would have taken अञ्, and therefore its exception is proper in the भिक्षादि class

(IV. 2. 38). But if the anudatta-hood of the remaining syllables were to follow *after* a word had got the designation of पद, then the word गर्भिणी would remain acutely accented on the first, and its enumeration in IV. 2. 38 would be useless.

कर्षात्वतो घञो ऽन्त उदात्तः ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्ष, अत्वतः, घञः, अन्तः, उदात्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्षतेर्धातोराकारवतश्च घञन्तस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

159. A stem formed with the Kṛita-affix घञ् has the acute accent on the end-syllable, if it is formed from the root कृष् (कर्षति) or has a long आ in it.

Thus कर्षः, पाकः, त्यागः, रागः, दायः, धायः ॥ This is an exception to VI. 1. 197 by which affixes having an indicatory ञ have acute accent on the first syllable. The word कर्ष is used in the aphorism instead of कृष्, to indicate that कृष of Bhvâdi gaṇa is affected by this rule, and not कृष्—कृषति of Tudâdigaṇa. The word कर्षः derived from Tudâdi कृष् has acute accent on the first syllable.

उञ्छादीनां च ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ उञ्छादीनाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उञ्छ इत्येवमादीनामन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

160. The words उञ्छ &c. have acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus 1. उञ्छः, 2. म्लेच्छः, 3. जञ्जः, 4. जल्पः ॥ These are formed by घञ्, and would have taken acute-accent on the first. 5. जपः, 6. बधः are formed by अप् affix (III. 3. 61) which being grave (III. 1. 4), these words would have taken the accent of the dhâtu (VI. 1. 162), i. e. acute on the first syllable. Some read व्यधः also here. 7. युगः is derived from युज् by घञ् affix, the non-causing of guṇa is irregular, and the word means 'a cycle of time', 'a part of a carriage'. In other senses, the form is योगः ॥ 8. गरः = (दूष्ये); is formed by अप्, and has this accent when it means 'poison', in other senses, the acute is on the first syllable. 9. वेगः, वेदः, वेष्टः (चेष्टः), and बन्धः, करणे ॥ These words are formed by घञ् by III. 3. 121. When denoting instrument (करण) they take the above accent, when denoting भाव the accent falls on the first syllable. 10. स्तुयुद्रुवश्छन्दसि, e. g. परिष्टुत्, परिद्रुत्, संयुत् ॥ 11. वर्त्तनिः स्तोत्रे, the stotra means Sâma Veda, the word वर्त्तनिः occurring in the Sâma Veda has acute on the last: in other places, it has the accent on the middle. 12. श्वभ्रे दरः, the दरः has end-acute when meaning 'a cave', otherwise when formed by अप् affix it has acute on the first. 13. साम्बतापौ भावगर्हायाम्, thus साम्बः, तापः, in other senses, the acute is on the first. 14. उत्तमशश्वत्तमौ सर्वत्र, e. g. उत्तमः, शश्वत्तमः ॥ Some read the limitation of भावगर्हा into this also. 15. भक्षमन्थभोगमन्थाः (भोगदेहा) ॥ These are formed by घञ्, भक्ष though a ण्यन्त root is here घञन्तं ॥

1 उञ्छ, 2 म्लेच्छ, 3 जञ्ज, 4 जल्प, 5 जप, 6 वध (व्यध), 7 युग, 8 गरो दूष्ये, 9 वेद-वेगवेष्टबन्धाः, (चेष्ट वेष्ट) करणे, 10 स्तुयुद्रुवश्छन्दसि (परिष्टुत्, संयुत्, परिद्रुत्), 11 वर्तनिः स्तोत्रे 12 श्वभ्रे दरः, 13 साम्बतापौ भावगर्हायाम्, 14 उत्तमशश्वत्तमौ (उत्तमशश्वत्तमशब्दौ) सर्वत्र, 15 भक्षमन्थ-, भोगमन्थाः (भक्षमन्थभोगदेहाः) ॥

अनुदात्तस्य च यत्रोदात्तलोपः ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तस्य, च, यत्र, उदात्त-लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्त इति वर्तते । यस्मिन्ननुदात्ते परत उदात्तो लुप्यते तस्यानुदात्तस्यादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

161. An unaccented vowel gets also the acute accent, when on account of it the preceding acute is elided.

The word udâtta is understood here. Thus कुमारँ + ई = कुमारी ॥ The word कुमार has acute on the last, when the unaccented (anudâtta) ङीप् is added to it, the अँ is elided (VI. 1. 148), the anudâtta ई becomes udâtta. So also पथिन् + शस् = पथः (VII. 1. 88), पथिन् + ए = पथे, पथिन् + आ = पथा ॥ The पथिन् has acute on the last. So also कुमुद + ड्मतुप् = कुमुद्वान् (IV. 2. 87), नड्वान्, वेतस्वान् ॥ The words कुमुद &c, are end-acute, and the affix मत् (वत्) is anudâtta (III. 1. 4).

Why 'an *anudâtta* vowel gets &c'. Observe प्रासङ्गः + यत् = प्रासङ्ग्यः ॥ (प्रासङ्गं वहति IV. 4. 76). Here though प्रसङ्ग is end-acute (VI. 2. 144 formed by घञ् with gati) it is followed by यं which is svarita (VI. 1. 185), this svarita causes the lopa of अँ udâtta: but it does not itself become udâtta. No, this is not a proper counter-example. For by the general rule of accent VI. 1. 158, when one syllable is ordained to be udâtta or svarita, all the other syllables of that word become anudatta. Therefore when य is taught to be svarita, all the other syllables (like ङ्गँ) will become anudâtta. So there is no *lopa* of udâtta when यं comes. The word अनुदात्त is used to indicate that the *initial* anudâtta becomes udâtta. Had anudâtta not been used, the sûtra would have been यत्रोदात्तलोपश्च, which would mean यस्मिन् प्रत्यये परत; उदात्तालुप्यत तस्यान्त उदात्ता भवात, for the anuvritti of अन्त would then be read from the last. There would then be anomaly in the case of मा हि धुक्षाताम्, and माहि धुक्षाथाम् ॥ From the root दुह we have formed धुक्षाताम् and धुक्षाथाम् in the Aorist Atmanepada, dual. दुह् + क्सँ + आताम् = दुह् + स् (VII. 3. 72) + आताम् ॥ Here आताम् causes the elision of the udâtta अ of स ॥ Therefore the *final* of आताँम् would be udâtta, which is not desired. The augment अ is not added because of मा, had it been added, the अँ would have been udâtta (VI. 4. 71). Had हि not been given, then also the whole of धुक्षाताम् would have become anudatta in माधुक्षाताम् because of तिङ्ङतिङः (VIII. 1. 28). See VIII. 1. 34 (हि च). Why have we used the word यत्र in the sûtra? If it was not employed, then the subsequent anudâtta may be such which would not have *caused* the elision of the previous udâtta; such udâtta being elided by some other operator, and still such anudâtta would have become udâtta. Thus in भार्गवः, भार्गवौ, भृगवः ॥ Here भृगवः is plural of भार्गवः ॥ The word भार्गव is end-acute and this acute (अण्) was elided in the plural, before the affix जस् was added.

The elision here is not *caused* by जस्, but is a subject of जस् (not निमित्त but विषय). Therefore जस् does not become udâtta, which would have been the case, had यत्र not been used. प्राक् सुबुत्पत्ते गोत्रप्रत्यस्य लुक् ॥ The gotra affix was elided prior to the adding of the case-ending. Why do we say "when an *udâtta* is elided"? Observe त्रिद+अञ् (IV. 1. 104) = बैद ॥ The feminine of this will be बैद+ङीन् (IV. 1. 73 = बैदी ॥ Here ई causes the elision of auûdâtta अ of द, and hence remains unchanged. So also औवीं ॥

धातोः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्येव । धातोरन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

162. A root has the acute on the end-syllable.

The word अन्त is understood here. Thus पचति, पठति, ऊर्णोति, गोपायति, याति ॥

चितः ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चितः, (अन्तः उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चितो ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

163. A stem (formed by an affix or augment or substitute) having an indicatory च्, gets acute on the end syllable.

Thus भंगुरम्, भासुरम्, मेदुरम्. These are formed by घुरच् III. 2. 161. So also कुण्डिनाः by II. 4. 70 where the substitute कुण्डिनच् is employed. To कुण्ड is added इन in the sense of मतुप्, then is added the feminine affix ङीप, thus कुण्डिनी has middle-acute. The descendants of Kuṇḍinî will be कौण्डिन्यः (by यञ् of Gargâdi). The plural of Kauṇḍinya will be formed by eliding यञ् and substituting कुण्डिनच् for the remaining portion. In the cases of affixes having an indicatory च्, the acute accent falls on the final, taking the stem and the affix in an aggregate. Thus बहुपटुः ॥ The affix बहुच् is one of those few affixes which are really prefixes. (V. 3. 68), The accent will not, therefore, fall on हु, but on the last syllable of the whole word compounded of the prefix + the base. So also with the affix अकच्. It is added in the *middle* of the word, but the accent will fall on the *end*; as उच्चकैः (V. 3. 71).

तद्धितस्य ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितस्य, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्त इत्येव । चितस्तद्धितस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

164. A stem formed with a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory च्, has acute on the end syllable.

Thus काञ्जायनाः formed by the affix च्फञ् (IV. 1. 98). कुञ्ज + च् फञ् + ञ्य = कौञ्जायन्यः dual कौञ्जायन्यौ, pl. कौञ्जायनाः (ञ्य being elided by II. 4. 62, and thus giving scope to च्फञ् accent). In this affix there are two indicatory letters च and ञ; the च has only one function, namely, regulating the accent according to this rule, while ञ has two functions, one to regulate accent by VI. 1. 197, and another to cause Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 117. Now arises the question, should the word get the accent of च or of ञ ॥ The present rule declares that it should get

the accent of च and not of अ, for the latter finds still a function left to it, while if अ was to regulate the accent, च would have no scope.

कितः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कितः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितस्येत्येव । तद्धितस्य कितोन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

165. A stem formed by a Taddhita affix having an indicatory क, has acute accent on the end syllable.

Thus नाड्डायनः formed by फक् (IV. 1. 99), so also चारायणः ॥ Similarly आक्षिकः, शालाकिकः formed by ठक् (IV. 4. 1).

तिसृभ्यो जसः ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिसृभ्यः, जसः, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृभ्य उत्तरस्य जसोन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

166. The Nominative plural (जस्) of तिसृ has acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus तिस्रस्तिष्ठन्ति ॥ This debars the Svarita accent ordained by VIII. 2. 4. The word तिसृ (feminine of त्रि VII. 2. 99) meaning 'three' is always plural. There are no singular or dual cases of this numeral; of the seven plural cases, the accusative plural will have acute on the final by VI. 1. 174; the remaining cases (Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative) have affixes beginning with a consonant, and by VI. 1. 179 they will be udâtta. Thus the only case not covered by any special rule is जस् (nom. pl); which would have been Śvarita, but for this rule. If जस् be the only case not provided for, then merely saying तिसृभ्यः would have sufficed to make the rule applicable to जस् only, why has then it been employed in the sûtra? This is done, in order that in compounds, where तिसृ may come as a subordinate member, and where singular and dual endings will also be added, this rule will not apply. Had जस् been not used in tois sûtra, then in the case of simple तिसृ there would be no harm, but when it is seconed member in a compound there would be anomaly. Thus अतितिस्रौ would have become end-acnte. But that is not desired. It is svarita on the final by VIII. 2. 4.

चतुरः शसि ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुरः, शसि (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुरः शसि परतो ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

167. The word चतुर्, followed by the accusative plural, has acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus चतुरः पश्य the accent is on तु ॥ The feminine of चतुर् is चतसृ (VII. 2. 99), which has acute accent on the first (VII. 2. 99 Vârt), and its accusative plural will not have accent on the last syllable, This is so, because चतुर् has acute on the first, as formed by उरन् affix. Its substitute चतसृ will also be so, by the rule of स्थानिवत् ॥ The special enunciation of आद्युदात्त with regard to चतसृ in the Vârtika चतसर्याद्युदात्तनिपातनं कर्तव्यं (VII. 2. 99) indicates that the

present rule does not apply to चतसृ ॥ Another reason for this is as follows: चतसृ + शस् = चतस्र + शस् ॥ Now comes the present Sûtra ; here, however, the र् substitute of ऋ being sthânivat, will prevent the udâtta formation of the अ of त ; nor will ऋ be considered as final and take the acute, as there exists no vowel ऋ but a consonant र् which cannot take an accent. As चतस्रः पश्य ॥ Professor Bohtlingk places the accent thus चतुरः, Pro. Mäx Muller चतुरः ॥ I have followed Prof. Mäx Muller in interpreting this sûtra; for Bohtlingk's interpretation would make the ending शस् accented, and not the final of चतुर् ॥

सावेकाचस्तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, एकाचः, तृतीयादिः, विभक्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साविति सप्तमीबहुवचनस्य सुशब्दस्य ग्रहणम् । तत्र सौ य एकाच् तस्मात्परा तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥

168. The case-affixes of the Instrumental and of the cases that follow it have the acute accent, if the stem in the Locative Plural is monosyllabic.

The word सौ (locative of सु) refers to the सु of the Locative plural. Thus वाचा, वाग्भ्याम्, वाग्भिः, वाग्भ्यः, यता, यद्भ्याम्, यद्भिः ॥ Why do we say 'in the Locative plural'? Observe राज्ञा, राज्ञे ॥ Why do we say 'monosyllabic'? Observe हरिणा, गिरिणा, राजसु ॥ Why do we say 'the Instrumentals and the rest'? Observe वाचौ, वाचः ॥ Why do we say "the case-endings (विभक्तिः)?" Observe वाक्तरा, वाक्तमा ॥ The plural of the Locative being taken in the sûtra, the rule does not apply to त्वया and त्वयि, as in the *plural* of the Locative they have more than one syllable, though in *singular* locative their stem has one syllable.

अन्तोदात्तादुत्तरपदादन्यतरस्यामनित्यसमासे ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तोदात्तात्, उत्तरपदात्, अन्यतरस्याम्, अनित्यसमासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाच इति वर्तते, तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरिति च । नित्यशब्दः स्वर्यते । तेन नित्याधिकारविहितः समासः पर्युदस्यते । नित्यसमासादन्यत्रानित्यसमासे यदुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तमेकाच तस्मात्परातृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरन्यतरस्यामुदात्ता भवति ॥

169. The same case endings may optionally have the acute accent, if the monosyllabic word stands at the end of a compound, and has acute accent on the final, when the compound can be easily unloosened.

The phrases "एकाचः" and तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः are understood here also. The nitya or *invariable* compounds are excluded by this rule. Thus परमवाचा or परमवाचा, परमवाचे or वाचे ; परमवाचः or °वाचः ॥ So also परमत्वचा or °त्वचे &c. According to VI. I. 223, the compounds have acute accent on the final : that rule applies in the alternative when the case-affixes are not acute and gives us

the alternative forms. Why do we say 'is acutely accented on the final'? Observe भ्रंवाचा, सुवाचा, सुत्वचा ॥ These are Tatpurusha compounds and by VI. 2. 2. the first term of the compound retains its original accent. Why have we used the word 'standing at the end of a compound' when the word नित्यसमासे indicated that the compound was meant ? Had we not used the word उत्तरपदान्त, the aphorism would have stood as, अन्तोदात्तादन्यतरस्यामनित्यसमासे 'In a loose-compound having acute on the final, the above affixes are acute, if the compound consists of a monosyllable'. The word एकाचः will thus qualify the compound and not the second member of the compound, which is intended. And thus the rule will apply to श्वोर्क् (शुन ऊर्क्) Ins. श्वोर्जा, श्वोर्जे: &c, and not to compounds having more than one syllable. Why do we say 'in loose compounds'? Observe अग्निचिता, सोमसुता ॥ These words form invariable (nitya) compounds by II. 2. 19, and by VI. 2. 139, the second member retains its original accent, which makes चि udâtta.

अञ्चेश्छन्दस्यसर्वनामस्थानम् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चेः, छन्दसि, असर्वनामस्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चेः परा ऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

170. In the Chhandas, the case-endings other than the sarvanâmasthâna, get the acute accent when coming after अञ्चि ॥

In the Vedas, a stem ending in the word अञ्च्, has the acute not only on the affixes previously mentioned, but on the accusative plural affix also. Thus इन्द्रो दधीचो अस्थभिः (Rig I. 84. 13). Here the word दधीच् had accent on धी by VI. 1. 222, but by the present sûtra, the accent falls on the case-affix अस् ॥ Though the anuvritti of "Instrumentals and the rest" was understood here, the word asarvanâmasthâna has been used here to include the ending शस् also. As प्रतीचो बाहून् प्रतिभङ्ध्येषाम् ॥

ऊडिदम्पदाद्यप्पुम्रैद्युभ्यः ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊठ्, इदम्, पदादि, अप्, पुम्, रै, द्युभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊठ् इदम् पदादि अप् पुम् रै दिव् इत्येतेभ्यो ऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥

171. The same (asarvanâmasthâna) case-endings have the acute accent, when the stem ends in वाह्, also after इदम्, after पद् &c (upto निश् VI. 1. 63), after अप, पुंस्, रै and दिव् ॥

The ऊठ् is the substitute of the वा of वाह् (VI. 4. 132) and not the ऊठ् taught in VI. 4. 19 &c). Thus प्रष्ठौहः, प्रष्ठौहा, but not in अक्षद्युवा (Ins. sing of अक्षद्यूः derived by ऊठ् substitution of व् in अक्षदिव् VI. 4. 19 &c). इदम्—आभ्याम्, एभिः The anuvritti of "अन्तोदात्तात्" is unsderstood here, therefore, when the word

इदम् is not end-acute, this rule will not apply. When, therefore, there is anvâdeśa under II. 4. 32, the final being anudâtta, this rule does not apply, as अथो आभ्यां निपुणमधीत ॥ The पदादि words are पद्, दत् &c upto निश् in VI. 1. 63. Thus निपुदैश्चतुरो जहि, या दु तांधातानि, अपः पश्यः, आङ्गेः, अद्भ्यैः, पुंसः, पुम्भ्याम्, पुम्भ्यैः, पुंसा, पुंसे, रायः पश्य, राभ्याम्, राभिः, दिवैः, दिवा, दिवे ॥ As regards the other cases of दिव् the accent is governed by VI. 1. 183. The word असन् and those which follow it, in VI. 1. 63, are not governed by this rule because they consist of more than one vowel, and the anuvritti of एकाच : is understood here from VI. 1. 168. When these become monosyllable by the elision of अ (penultimate), then the vibhakti will be udâtta by VI. 1. 161 even after these. The case endings after these words are of course, anudâtta, except when these words become monosyllabic:—As मीवायां बद्धो अपि कक्ष आसनि, मत्स्यं न दीन उदनि क्षियन्तं ॥

अष्टनो दीर्घात् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, दीर्घात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनो दीर्घान्तादसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥

172. The asarvanâmasthâna case-endings after अष्टन् 'eight', have acute accent, when it gets the form अष्टा ॥

The word अष्टन् has two forms in the acc. pl. and the other cases that follow it, namely अष्टा and अष्ट ॥ The affixes of acc. pl. &c are udâtta after the long form अष्टा and not after अष्ट ॥ Thus अष्टाभिः opposed to अष्टभिः, अष्टाभ्यः con. अष्टभ्यः, अष्टासु con. अष्टसु ॥ The word अष्टन् has acute on the last syllable, as it belongs to the class of घृतादि words (Phit I. 21); and by VI. 1. 180 the accent would have been on the penultimate syllable. This rule debars it. The use of दीर्घात् indicates that the word अष्टन् has two forms, and the substitution of long अ taught in VII. 2. 84, thus becomes *optional*, because of this indication. Otherwise the employment of the word दीर्घात् would be useless, for by VII. 2. 84 which is couched in general terms, अष्टन् would *always* end in a long vowel. There is another use of the word दीर्घात्, namely, it makes the word अष्टान् with long आ (VII. 2. 84) to get also the designation of षट् ॥ For if अष्टान् was not to be called a षट्, like अष्टन्, then there would be scope to the present sûtra in the case of अष्टान् while it would be debarred in the case of अष्टन् without long आ, by the subsequent rule VI. 1. 180 which applies to षट् word, and hence the employment of the word दीर्घात् would become useless.

शतुरनुमो नद्यजादी ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शतुः, अनुमः, नदी, अजादी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोदात्तादिति वर्त्तते । अनुम् यः शतृप्रत्ययस्तदन्तादन्तोदात्तात्परा नदी अजादिर्विभक्तिरसर्वनामस्थानमुदात्ता भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बृहन्महतोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

173. After an oxytone Participle in अत् the feminine suffix ई,(nadi) and the case endings beginning with vowels

(with the exception of strong cases) have acute accent, when the participial affix has not the augment न् (i. e. is not अन्त्).

The word अन्तोदात्तात् 'after an oxytoned word' is understood here. Thus तुदती, तुदती, लुनती, पुनती, तुदतो, लुनतो, पुनतो, सुनतो from तुदत्, तुदत् लुनत् and पुनत् ॥

Why do we say "not having the augment नुम्?" Observe तुदन्ता, तुदन्ती ॥ Here also by VI. 1. 186, after the root तुद् which has an indicatory अ, in the Dhâtupâṭha, being written तुद, the sârvadhâtuka affix शतृ (अत्) is anudâtta. This anudâtta अत्, coalescing with the udâtta अ of तुद (VI. 1. 162), becomes udâtta (VIII. 2. 5); and Rule VIII. 2. 1 not being held applicable here, the Participle gets the accent, and not the feminine affix. Why do we say "a नदी (feminine in ई) word and before vowel-endings?' Observe तुदद्भ्याम्, तुदद्भ्याम &c. If the participle is not an oxytone, the rule does not apply. As इषती, ईषती ॥ Here the accent is on the first syllable by VI. 1. 189.

Vârt:—The words बृहती and महती should also be included: as बृहती महती, बृहतो, महतो ॥

उदात्तयणो हल्पूर्वात् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्त, यणः, हल्, पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तस्थाने यो यण् हल्पूर्वस्तस्मात्परा नदी अजादिर्या ऽसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नकारग्रहणं च कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

174. The same endings have the acute accent, when for the acutely accented final vowel of the stem, a semi-vowel is substituted, and which is preceded by a consonant.

Thus कर्तृ + ई = कर्त्री ; कर्त्रा, हर्त्रा, हर्त्री, प्रलवित्री, प्रलवित्रा ॥ प्रसवित्री, प्रसवित्रा ॥ All these are तृच् ending words and have consequently acute accent on the final (VI. 1. 163). Why '*acutely* accented final vowel is replaced &c'? Observe कर्त्री, कर्त्रा, हर्त्री, हर्त्रा, formed by तृन् having acute on the first syllable. Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe बहुतितउ — बहुतितवा ब्राह्मण्या (VIII. 2. 4) बहूनि तितऊनि अस्या इति बहुव्रीहिः ॥ This compound with बहु gets udâtta on the final by VI. 2. 175. In making the Instrumental singular of बहुतितउ, the उ is replaced by व्, but as this व् is preceded by a vowel, the affix gets the svarita accent.

Vârt:—The rule applies when the stem ends in न् though not in a semi-vowel, as वाक्पत्नी, चित्पत्नी ॥

नोङ्धात्वोः ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ऊङ्, धात्वोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊङो धातोश्च य उदात्तयण् हल्पूर्वस्तस्मात्परा ऽजाद्यसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिर्नोदात्ता भवति ॥

175. But not so, when the vowel is of the feminine affix ऊ (IV. 1. 66), or the final of a root.

After the semi-vowel substitutes of the udâtta ऊ (IV. 1. 66) or of the udâtta final vowels of the root, when preceded by a consonant, the weak case-

endings beginning with a vowel do not take the acute accent. Thus ब्रह्मबन्ध्वा, ब्रह्मबन्ध्वे, धीरबन्ध्वा, धीर बन्ध्वे from धीरबन्धू, which has acute accent on ऊ, because ऊङ् is udâtta (III. 1. 3), and the ekadeśa of it, when it combines with the preceding vowel is also udâtta (VIII. 2. 5). The व substituted for ऊ before the ending आ, is a semi-vowel substitute of an udâtta (उदात्तयण्) the affix after it would have become udâtta by the last sûtra, but not being so, the general rule VIII. 2. 4 applies and makes it svarita. Let us take an example of a semi-vowel substitute of the vowel of a root (धातु-यण्):—सकुल्ल्वा, सकुल्ल्वे; खलप्वे from सकुल्लू, खलपू formed by क्विप् affix, the second member of the compound retaining its original accent, namely, the oxytone, the semi-vowel being substituted by VI. 4. 83 before the vowel case-endings.

ह्रस्वनुड्भ्यां मतुप् ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्व, नुड्भ्याम्, मतुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोदात्तादित्येव । ह्रस्वान्तादन्तोदात्तान्नुटश्चपरोमतुब् उदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ रेशब्दाच्च मतुप उदात्तत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ त्रेश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

176. The otherwise unaccented मत् (वत्) takes the acute accent, when an oxytoned stem ends in a light vowel, or the affix has before it the augment न् (VIII. 2. 16).

The word अन्तोदात्तात् is understood here also. Thus अग्निमान्, वायुमान्, कर्तृमान्, हर्तृमान् ॥ So also when मतुप् takes नुट्, as अक्षण्वता, शीर्षण्वता ॥ Here by VII. 1. 76, the word अक्षि takes अनङ् and becomes अक्षन्, then is added नुट् by VIII. 2. 16, and we have अक्षन् न् मतुप् ॥ The preceding न् is elided. When the stem is not oxytone (antodâtta) this rule does not apply: as वसुमान् ॥ The word वसु has acute on the first syllable, as it is formed from वस् with the affix उ (Uṇ I. 10) which is नित् (Uṇ I. 9) so the मतुप् retains its anudâtta here. So also in the case of मरुत्वान्, the affix does not become acute, though the word मरुत् has acute on the final as the intervening त् makes the उ of रु *heavy* when the affix is added; the general maxim स्वरविधौ व्यंजनमविद्यमानवत् does not apply here, because the very fact that न् is only taken as an exception, shows this.

Vârt:—The affix मतुप् becomes acute after the heavy vowel of रे: as आरेवान् = रयिरस्यास्ति ॥ There is vocalisation of य of रयि, as र इ इ then substitution of one, as र इ, then guṇa, रे ॥

Vârt:—The prohibition should be stated after त्रि: as त्रिवतीर्याज्यानु-वाक्या भवन्ति ॥

नामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वग्रहणमनुवर्त्तते मतुब्ग्रहणं च । तेन मतुपा ह्रस्वो विशेष्यते । मतुपि यो ह्रस्वस्तदन्तादन्तोदात्तादन्यतरस्यां नाम् उदात्तो भवति ॥

177. After an oxytoned stem which ends in a light vowel, the genitive ending नाम् has optionally the acute accent.

Thus अग्नीनाम् or अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम् or वायूनाम्, कर्तृणाम् or कर्तृणाम् (see VII. 1. 54). It might be objected, that नाम् is not preceded by a short vowel, as is shown in the above examples, then how can the anuvritti of ह्रस्व 'short or light vowel' be read into this sûtra? The reply is that the anuvritti of मतुप् should also be read into this sûtra, the meaning being "a stem which has a light vowel when followed by मतुप्, will cause the नाम acute, though the light vowel may become heavy before this ending, in its present form". Otherwise, this rule will apply to forms like तिसृणाम्, चतसृणाम् having light vowels before नाम् and not to the forms above given. Why do we read नाम with the नुट् augment (VII. 1. 54) and not आम्? The rule will not apply to धन्वाम् शकन्धाम् which get the acute on the final by VI. 1. 174. Why do we say 'after a stem ending in a light vowel'? Observe कुमारीणाम् (the word कुमारी is end-acute by Uṇ III. 138 and so is कुमारी by VI. 1. 161). Why do we say after an oxytoned word? Observe त्रपूणाम्, वसूनाम् the words त्रपु and वसु have acute on the first syllable.

ङ्याश्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङ्याः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङ्यन्ताच्छन्दसि विषये नामुदात्तो भवति बहुलम् ॥

178. In the Chhandas, the ending नाम् has diversely the acute accent after the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus देवसेनानाम् अभिभञ्जतीनाम्, बह्वीनाम् पिता ॥ Sometimes it does not take place, as नदीनाम् पारे ; जयन्तीनाम् मरुतः ॥

षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो हलादिः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, त्रि, चतुर्भ्यः, हलादिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोदात्तादित्येतन्निवृत्तम्। षट्संज्ञकेभ्यस्त्रि चतुर् इत्येताभ्यां च परा हलादिर्विभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति॥

179. The case-endings beginning with a consonant, have the acute accent after the Numerals called षट् (I. 1. 24), as well as after त्रि and चतुर् ॥

The anuvritti of अन्तोदात्ताद् ceases, for the present rule applies even to words like पंचन् and नवन् which are acute on the initial by Phit II. 5. Thus षण्णाम्, षड्भिः, षड्भ्यः, पंचानाम्, सप्तानाम्, त्रिभिः, त्रिभ्यः, त्रयाणाम्, चतुर्णाम् (See VII. 1. 55). Why do we say 'before case-affixes beginning with consonants'? Observe चतस्रः पश्य (VI. 1. 167 and VII. 2. 99).

झल्युपोत्तमम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ झलि, उपोत्तमम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो या झलादिर्विभक्तिस्तदन्ते पदे यदुपोत्तममुदात्तं भवति। त्रिप्रभृतीनामन्त्यमुत्तमं तत्सभीपे च यत्तदुपोत्तमम् ॥

180. The above numerals, when taking a case-affix beginning with a भ् or स्, get the acute accent on the penultimate syllable, when the said numerals assume a form consisting of three or more syllables.

The numerals षट्, त्रि and चतुर् when ending in a case-affix beginning with a झल् consonant, form a full word (पद), in such a word the penultimate syllable gets the acute accent. The very word penultimate shows that the पद must be of three syllables at least. Thus पंचभिः, सप्तभिः, तिसृभिः, चतुर्भिः ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with भ् and स्'? Observe, पंचानाम्, सप्तानाम् ॥ Why do we say 'the penultimate syllable'? Observe षड्भिः, षड्भ्यः ॥

विभाषा भाषायाम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, भाषायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो या झलादिर्विभक्तिस्तदन्ते पदे उपोत्तममुदात्तं भवति विभाषा भाषायां विषये ॥

181. In the Secular language this is optional.

The झलादि case-affixes coming after the above numerals षट्, त्रि and चतुर् may make the words so formed take the acute on the penultimate optionally, in the spoken ordinary language. Thus पंचभिः or पंचभिः ॥ In the alternative VI. 1. 179 applies. So also सप्तभिः or सप्तभिः, तिसृभिः or तिसृभिः ॥

न गोश्वन्त्सावर्णराडङ्क्रुङ्कृद्भ्यः ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गो, श्वन्, सौ अवर्ण, राट्, अङ्, क्रुङ्, कृद्भ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो श्वन् सावर्ण सौ प्रथमैकवचने यदवर्णान्तं राड् अङ् क्रुङ् कृद् इत्येतेभ्यो यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

182. The foregoing rules from VI. 1. 168 downwards have no applicability after गो, and श्वन् and words ending in them; nor after a stem which before the case ending of the Nominative singular has अ or आ, nor after राज्, or after a stem ending in अञ्च्, nor as well as after क्रुञ्च् and कृत् ॥

Thus गवा, गवे, गोभ्याम् ॥ Here by VI. 1. 168, the case-endings would have got otherwise the accent, which is however prohibited. So also सुगुना, सुगवे and सुगुभ्याम् ॥ Here VI. 1. 169 is prohibited. So also शुना, शुने, श्वभ्याम्, परमशुना, परमशुन and परमश्वभ्याम् ॥ The word सावर्णः (सौ अवर्णः) means 'what has अ or आ before सु (1st. sing.)" Thus येभ्यः, तेभ्यः, केभ्यः ॥ राजः—राजा, राजे, परमराजा ॥ (The word राज is formed by क्विप् affix): अङ्=अञ्च्+क्विन्; the prohibition applies to that form of this word wherein the nasal is not elided (VI. 4. 30). Thus प्राञ्चा, प्राङ्भ्याम् ॥ Where the nasal is elided, there the case-ending must take the accent; as प्राचा, प्राचे प्राग्भ्याम् ॥ क्रुङ् is also a क्विन् formed word. Thus क्रुञ्चा, क्रुञ्चे, परमक्रुञ्चा ॥ कृत् is derived from कृ 'to do' or from कृत् 'to cut' by क्विप्; as कृता कृते and परमकृता ॥ Why has the word श्वन् been especially mentioned in this sûtra, when the rule would have applied to it even without such enumeration, because in the Nominative Singular this word assumes the form श्वा and consequently it is सावर्णः? The inclusion of श्वन् indicates that the elision of न should not be considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, the present rule will not apply to words like नृ and पितृ which in Nom. Sing. end in आ, as ना and पिता after the elision of न् of अनङ् (VII. 3. 94). Thus the Locative Singular of नृ will

be नरि by VI. 1. 168, this prohilition not applying, and the affix मतुप् will get udâtta after पिता by VI. 1. 176 as पितृमान् ॥ But rule VI. 1. 176 will be debarred by the present in the case of वृक्षवान् because वृक्ष is a सावर्ण ॥

दिवो झल् ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, झल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवः परा झलादिर्विभक्तिर्नोदात्ता भवति ॥

183. After दिव् a case-ending beginning with भ or स is unaccented.

Thus द्युभ्याम्, द्युभिः ॥ This debars VI. 1. 168, 171. Why do we say 'beginning with a झल् consonant'? Observe दिवौ, दिवे ॥

नृ चान्यतरस्याम् ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नृ, च, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृ इत्येतस्मात्परा झलादिर्विभक्तिरन्यतरस्यां नोदात्ता भवति ॥

184. After नृ, a case ending beginning with भ or स is optionally unaccented.

Thus नृभिः or नृभिः, नृभ्यः, नृभ्यः, नृभ्याम्, नृभ्याम्, नृषु, नृषु ॥ But not so नरौ, नरे ॥

तित्स्वरितम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तित्, स्वरितम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तित्स्वरितं भवति ॥

185. An affix having an indicatory त्, is svarita i. e. has circumflex accent.

Thus चिकीर्ष्यम्, जिहीर्ष्यम्, formed by यत् (III. 1. 97). कार्यम्, हार्यम् with ण्यत् (III. 1. 124). This is an exception to III. 1. 3 which makes all affixes âdyudâtta. For exception to this rule see VI. 1. 213 &c.

तास्यनुदात्तेन्ङिददुपदेशाल्लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तमह्न्विङोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तासि, अनुदात्तेत्, ङित्, अदुपदेशात्, ल, सार्वधातुकम्, अनुदात्तम्, अ-ह्नु, इङो, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तासेरनुदात्तेतो ङितो ऽकारान्तोपदेशाच्च शब्दात्परं लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तं च भवति ह्नुङ् इङ् इत्येताभ्यां परं वर्जयित्वा ॥

186. The Personal-endings and their substitutes (III. 2. 124-126) are, when they are sârvadhâtuka (III. 4. 113 &c), unaccented, after the characteristic of the Periphrastic future (तासि), after a root which in the Dhâtupâṭha has an unaccented vowel or a ङ् (with the exception of ह्नुङ् and इङ्) as indicatory letter, as well as after what has a final अ in the Grammatical system of Instruction (upadeśa).

Thus तासि :—कर्त्ता, कर्त्तारौ, कर्त्तारः, this debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3). Anudáttet :—as, आस्—आस्ते, वस्—वस्ते ॥ ङित् :—षूङ्=सूते, शीङ्—शेते ॥ अत् उपदेशः :—as तुदतः, नुदतः, पचतः, पठतः ॥ A root taking शप् (अ) is considered as

taught (upadeśa) as if ending with an अ, as the indicatory letters श and च् are disregarded on the maxim अनुबन्धस्यानैकान्तिकत्वं (=अनवयवत्वं)॥ Thus पंचमानः, यजमानः ॥ The augment मक् is added by आने मुक् VII. 2. 82 which may be explained in two ways; *first*, the augment मुक् is added to the final अ of the base (anga) when आन (आनच् &c) follows; or *secondly*, the the augment मक is added to the base (anga) which ends in अ, when आने follows. In the first case मक् becomes part and parcel of अ and will be taken and included by the enunciation of अ, and therefore अदुपदेश will mean and include an अ having such मुक्, on the maxim यदागमास्तद्गुणीभूतास्तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यन्ते "That to which an augment is added denotes, because the augment forms part of it, not merely itself, but it denotes also whatever results from its combination with that augment". Therefore मुक् will not prevent the verb becoming अदुपदेश ॥ But if secondly मक be taken as part of the *base* which ends in अ, then the लसार्वधातुक does not follow an अदुपदेश, because म intervenes. But we get rid of this difficulty by considering मुक् augment as Bahiranga and therefore asiddha, when the Antaranga operation of accent is to be performed. The augment मुक (म्) in the last two examples consequently does not prevent the application of the rule. Though the affix शानच् has an indicatory च, yet चित् accent (VI. 1. 163) is debarred by this rule, as it is *subsequent*.

Why do we say after तासि &c. Observe चिनुतः चिन्वन्ति ॥ The vikaraṇa श्नु is ङित् (I. 2. 4) with regard to operations affecting the prior term, and not those which affect the subsequent. Therefore though श्नु is considered as ङित् for the purposes of preventing the guṇa of the prior term चि, it will not be considered so for the purposes of subsequent accent. Or the word ङित् in this sûtra may be taken as equal to ङिदुपदेश and not the आतिदेशिक ङित् like इनु ॥ Why do we use the word upadeśa ? So that the rule may apply to पचावः, पचामः, but not to हतः, हथः the dual of हन् which ends in न् in upadesa. though before तस् and थस it has assuned the form ह ॥ Therefore हतः हथः ॥ Why do we use the word ल (Personal endings)? Observe कतीह पवमाना formed by शानन् added to पू (III.2.128), which not being a substitute of लट्, is not a personal ending like शानच् ॥ Why do we use the word Sârvadhâtuka ? Observe शिश्ये, शिश्याते, शिश्यिरे ॥ Why do we say with the exception of ह्नुङ् and इङ् ? Observe ह्नुते, यद् अधीते ॥

आदिः सिचो ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, सिचः, अन्यतरस्याम्,

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्त इति वर्त्तते । सिजन्तस्यान्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सिच आद्युदात्तत्वे ऽनिटः पितः पक्षे उदात्तत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥

187. In सिच् Aorist, the first syllable may optionally have the acute accent.

The word उदात्त is understood here. Thus मा हि कार्ष्टाम्, मा हि कार्ष्टाम्; मा हि लाविष्टाम् or मा हि लाविष्टाम् ॥ In the last example the accent is on पि; and the

reason why मा and हि are used in these illustrations, has already been explained in VI. 1. 161. The indicatory च् of सिच् shows that by VI. 1. 163 the acute will be on the otherwise unaccented augment इट्, when it takes this augment. The सिच् being a वलादि affix will take the augment इट् (VII. 2. 35), and it is a general rule that augments are unaccented; so in the above the वि would have been unaccented, and the accent would have been on the final, but for the indicatory च् of सिच्, which otherwise would find no scope. Thus वि gets acute.

Vârt:—An affix having an indicatory प् (पित्) when coming after an Aorist formed by सिच् without the augment इट् (अनिट् सिच्) is in one alternative udâtta (in the other, it is non-acute). This vârtika restricts the scope of the sûtra with regard to पित् affixes. Thus we get the following two forms, which otherwise would have one form only by dhâtu-accent, namely, acute on the first, for पित् is anudâtta. Thus माहि कार्षम् or मा हि कार्षम् ॥ But when it takes the इट् augment, there are two forms (1st.) मा हि लाविषम् as a तिङन्त, (2nd.) मा हि लाविषम् accent on वि (VI. 1. 163). but never मा हि लाविषम् ॥ When however the augment अ is added, the accent falls on this augment (VI. 4. 71).

स्वपादिर्हिंसामच्यनिटि ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपादि, हिंसाम्, अचि, अनिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लसार्वधातुकग्रहणं यदनुवर्तते तदच्यनिटीति सम्बन्धादिह सप्तम्यन्तं भवति स्वपादीनां हिंसेश्चाजादावनिटि लसार्वधातुके परतो ऽन्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

188. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable when a Personal-ending, being a Sârvadhâtuka tense affix beginning with a vowel, provided that the vowel is not the augment इट्, follows after स्वप् &c, or after हिंस् ॥

The phrase लसार्वधातुके in the locative case is understood here. Thus स्वपन्ति or स्वपन्ति, श्वसन्ति or श्वसन्ति, हिंसन्ति or हिंसन्ति ॥ The accent on the middle falls by the accent of the affix III. 1. 3. Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a *vowel*'? Observe स्वप्यात्, हिंस्यात् ॥ Why do we say 'not taking the augment इट्?' Observe स्वपितः and श्वसितः ॥ This rule applies to those vowel-beginning affixes which are ङित्; it does not apply to स्वपानि, हिनसानि ॥

अभ्यस्तानामादिः ॥ १८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यस्तानाम्, आदिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तानामजादावनिटि लसार्वधातुके परत आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

189. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of the reduplicate verbs when followed by an affix beginning with a vowel (the vowel being not इट्) and being a sârvadhâtuka personal ending.

Thus ददति, ददतु, दधति, दधतु, जक्षति, जक्षतुः, जाग्रति, जाग्रतुः ॥ Before consonant affixes: दद्यात् ॥ Before सेट् affixes :—जक्षितः ॥ Though the word आदि was

understood here from the last aphorism, the repetition is for the sake of making this an *invariable* rule and not an *optional* rule as those in the foregoing.

अनुदात्ते च ॥ १९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्ते, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानोदात्ते च लसार्वधातुके परतो ऽभ्यस्तानामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

190. Also when the unaccented endings of the three persons in the singular follow, the first syllable of the reduplicate has the acute.

The endings तिप् सिप् and मिप् are anudâtta (III. 1. 4). This sûtra applies to those personal endings which do not begin with a vowel. Thus दंदाति, जहाति, दधाति, जिह्रीते, मिमीते ॥ The word अनुदात्त is to be construed here as a Bahuvrîhi i. e. an affix in which there is no udâtta vowel, so that the rule may apply when a portion of the affix is elided or a semivowel is substituted : as मा हि स्म दधात्, and दधात्यत्र ॥

सर्वस्य सुपि ॥ १९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, सुपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्दस्य सुपि परत आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वस्वरो ऽनकच्कस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

191. The acute is on the first syllable of सर्व when the case-endings follow.

Thus सर्वः, सर्वाः सर्वे ॥ Why do we say when the *case-endings* follow? Observe सर्वतरः, सर्वतमः the acute is on र्व ॥ The word सर्व has acute on the final, as it is so taught in the Uṇâdi list by निपातन् ॥ It thus being anudâttâdi takes the affix अञ् and forms सार्वः (सर्वस्य विकारः) This rule applies even when the case affix is elided in spite of the prohibition of न लुमताङ्गस्य (I. 1. 63) : as सर्वस्तोमः ॥

Vârt :—The rule does not apply when the affix अकच् is put in : as सर्वकः ॥ Here the accent is on the final by चित् accent (VI. 1. 163).

भीह्रीभृहुमदजनधनदरिद्राजागरां प्रत्ययात्पूर्वं पिति ॥ १९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी, ह्री, भृ, हु, मद, जन, धन, दरिद्रा, जागराम्, प्रत्ययात्, पूर्वम्, पिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी ह्री भृ हु मद जन धन दरिद्रा जागृ इत्येतेषामभ्यस्तानां लसार्वधातुके पिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवति ॥

192. In भी, ह्री, भृ, हु, मद्, जन्, धन्, दरिद्रा, and जागृ, in their reduplicates, the acute accent is, before the sârvadhâtuka unaccented endings of the three persons in singular, (पित्), on the syllable which precedes the affix.

This debars the accent on the beginning. Thus बिभेति, जिह्रेति, बिभर्त्ति, जुहोति, ममत्तु नः परिज्मा ॥ Here the root मद has diversely taken in the Chhandas the vikaraṇa श्लु, though it belongs to Divâdi class. जजनत्, इन्द्रम् ॥ The verb is here लेट् or the Vedic Subjunctive, so also is the next example. दधनत् from धन धान्ये,

the इ of ति being elided by III. 4. 97, and the augment अट् being added by III. 4. 94 दर्धनत्, दरिद्रांति, जागर्ति ॥ In the case of other verbs we have ईशाति ॥ Before affixes which have not the indicatory प् (i. e. all endings other than the three singular endings), the accent will be on the first syllable: as दरिद्रति ॥

लिति ॥ १९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवति ।

193. The acute accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding the affix that has an indicatory ल् ॥

Thus चिकीर्षकः, जिहीर्षकः with the affix ण्वुल् (III. 1. 133), भौरिकिविधम् and ऐषुकारिभक्तम् with the affixes विधल् and भक्तल् (IV. 2. 54) accent on the कि and रि ॥

आदिर्णमुल्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, णमुलि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः । णमुलि परतो ऽन्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

194. The first syllable may be optionally acute when the absolutive affix णमुल् follows.

Thus लोलूयम् or लोलूयम् ॥ In the reduplicate form लोलू, the second part लू is unaccented by VIII. 1. 3. The present sûtra makes लो accented. When लो is not accented, लू will get the accent by लित् accent. This rule is confined to polysyllabic Absolutives, namely to reduplicated Absolutives (VIII. 1. 4).

अचः कर्तृयकि ॥ १९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, कर्तृ-यकि ॥

वृत्तिः । उपदेशइति वर्त्तते । अजन्ता ये उपदेशे धातवस्तेषां कर्तृयकि अन्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

195. The roots which are exhibited in Dhâtupâṭha with a final vowel, may optionally have the acute on the first syllable, before the affixes of the Passive (यक्), when the sense of the verb is Reflexive.

The word उपदेश is understood here. Thus लूयते or लूयते केदारः स्वयमेव ॥ स्तीर्यते or स्तीर्यते केदारः स्वयमेव ॥ When the accent does not fall on the first syllable, it falls on य (VI. 1. 186).. This rule applies to जन्, खन्, and सन् when they get the form जायते, सायते and खायते; the long आ (VI. 4. 43) substitute is considered as if these verbs were taught in the Dhâtupâtha with long आ ॥ Thus जायते or जायते स्वयमेव सायते or सायते स्वयमेव; खायते or खायते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say 'when ending in a *vowel*'? Observe भिद्यते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say "when the sense is Reflexive (कर्तृ)"? Observe लूयते केदारो देवदत्तेन ॥

थलि च सेटीडन्तो वा ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ थलि, च, सेटि, इडन्तः, वा॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेटि थलि इट वा उदात्तो भवति अन्तो वा आदिर्वा ऽन्यतरस्याम् ।

196. Before the ending थ of the Perfect, second person singular, when this ending takes the augment इ; the acute accent falls either on the first syllable, or on this इ, or on the personal ending.

Thus लुलविथ, लुलविथ, लुलविथ, and लुलविथ. As थल् has an indicatory ल्, the syllable preceding the affix may have also the accent (VI. 1. 193). Thus we get the four forms given above. In short, with इथ termination, the accent may fall on any syllable. When the थ is not सेट्, the accent falls on the root and we have one form only by लिट् accent (VI. 1. 193) :—ययाथ ॥

ञ्नित्यादिर्नित्यम् ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ञ्निति, आदिः, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ञिति निति च नित्यमादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

197. Whatever is derived with an affix having an indicatory ञ् or ण्, has the acute accent invariably on the first syllable.

Thus गार्ग्य with यञ् (IV. 1. 105), वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः with वुन् (IV. 3. 98). This is an exception to III. 1. 3. When the affixes are, however, elided, the word loses this accent, i. e, the affix does not leave its mark behind, as it generally does by I. 1. 62, Therefore गर्गाः, बिदाः, चञ्चाः having lost यञ्, अञ् and कन्, have lost their accent also.

आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्त्रितस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्त्रितस्यादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

198. The first syllable of a Vocative gets the acute accent.

Thus देवदत्त !, देवदत्तौ !, देवदत्ताः ॥ This debars the final accent ordained by VI. 2. 148. Though the affix may be elided by a लुमान् word (लुक्, लुप् or श्लु), yet the effect of the affix remains behind in spite of I. 1. 63. As सर्पिरा-गच्छ ! सप्ता गच्छत ! ॥

पथिमथोः सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, मथोः, सर्वनामस्थाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिमथिशब्दावौणादिकाविनिप्रत्ययान्तौ प्रत्ययस्वरेणान्तोदात्तौ तयोः सर्वनामस्थाने परत आदि-रुदात्तो भवति ।

199. The acute accent is on the first syllable of पथिन् and मथिन् when followed by a strong case-ending.

The words पथिन् and मथिन् are derived by the Uṇâdi affix इनि, (IV. 12. and 13) and are oxytone by III. 1. 3. They become âdyudâtta before strong cases. Thus पन्थाः, पन्थानौ, पन्थानः, मन्थाः, मन्थानौ, मन्थानः ॥ Before other cases we have:—पथः पश्य, मथः पश्य ॥ The accent is on the final by VI. 1. 162, there being elision of the udâtta इन् ॥ The rule I. 1. 62, about the remaining effect of the affix, does not apply here. As पथिप्रियः, has acute on the final of the first

word, by retaining its original accent.

अन्तश्च तवै युगपत् ॥ २०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, च, तवै, युगपत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवैप्रत्ययान्तस्यान्तश्चशब्दादिश्च युगपदुदात्तौ भवतः ।

200. The Infinitive in तवै has the acute on the first syllable and on the last syllable at one and the same time.

Thus कर्तवै, हर्तवै ॥ This is an exception to III. 1. 3 by which त of तवै ought to have got the accent, and it also countermands rule VI. 1. 158 by which there can be only a single acute in a single word.

क्षयो निवासे ॥ २०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षयः, निवासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षयशब्दो निवासे ऽभिधेये आद्युदात्तो भवति ।

201. The word क्षय has the acute on the first syllable in the sense of 'house, dwelling'.

Thus क्षये जागृहि प्रपश्यन् ॥ The word is formed by घ affix (III. 1. 118) and would have had accent on the affix (III. 1. 3). When not meaning a house we have: क्षयो वर्त्तते दस्यूनाम् ॥ The word is formed by अच् (III. 2. 31),

जयः करणम् ॥ २०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जयः, करणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जयशब्दः करणवाची आद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

202. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of जय, in the sense of 'whereby one attains victory'.

Thus जयोऽश्वः, but otherwise जयो वर्तते ब्राह्मणानाम् ॥ The former जय is by घ affix, (III. 1. 118) the second by अच् (III. 2. 31) ॥

वृषादीनां च ॥ २०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषादीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृष इत्येवमादीनामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

203. The words वृष &c have the acute on the first syllable.

Thus 1. वृषः, 2. जनः, 3. ज्वरः, 4. ग्रहः, 5. हयः, 6. गयः ॥ These are formed by अच् (III. 1. 134). The word गय is from गै-गायते, irregularly it is treated as गे ॥ 7. नयः, 8. तायः, 9. तयः, 10. चयः, 11. अमः, 12. वेदः, 13. सूदः, 14. वदः (formed by अच् numbers 8 to 11 are not in Kâśika). सूद is formed by क (III. 1. 135) 15. अंशः, 16. गुहा (formed by अङ् III. 3. 104). 17. शमरणौ संज्ञायां संमतौ भावकर्मणोः :— शमः and रणः, 18. मन्त्रः (formed by अच् III. 1. 134), 19. शान्तिः formed by क्तिच्, 20. कामः, 21. यामः, both formed by घञ्, 22. आरा, 23. धारा, 24. कारा, (all three formed by अङ् III. 3. 104), 25. वहः = गोचरादिषु formed by घञ् 26. कल्पः, 27. पादः formed by घञ्, which may either take the accent indicated by the affix or by VI. 1. 159, 28. पयः, 29. स्वः ॥ It is आकृतिगणः ॥ All words which are acutely accented on the first, should be considerd as belouging to this class, if their accent cannot be accounted for by any other rule.

1 वृषः, 2 जनः, 3 ज्वर 4 ग्रहः 5 हयः, 6 गयः, 7 नयः, 8 ताय*, 9 तयः, 10 चयः*, 11 भ्रम*:, 12 वेदः, 13 सूदः°, 14 अंशः, 15 गुहा, 16 शमरणौ संज्ञायां संमतौ भावकर्मणोः, 17 मन्त्रः, 18 शान्तिः, 19 कामः, 20 यामः, 21 आरा, 22 धारा, 23 कारा, 24 वहः, 25 कल्पः, 26 पादः 27 पयः, 28 दवः, 29 आकृतिगण ॥

संज्ञायामुपमानम् ॥ २०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, उपमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानशब्दः संज्ञायामाद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

204. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of that word with which something is likened, provided that it is a name.

Thus चञ्चा, वध्रिका, खरकुटी, दासी ॥ All these are उपमान words used as names of the उपमेय (the thing compared). The affix कन् (V. 3, 96) is elided here by V. 3. 98. It might be asked when कन् is elided, its mark, namely causing the first syllable to be acute (VI. 1. 197), will remain behind by virtue of I. 1. 62, where is then the necessity of this sûtra. The formation of this sûtra indicates that the प्रत्ययलक्षण rule is not of universal application in the rules relating to accent.

When the word is not a Name, we have अग्निर्माणवकः ॥ When it is not an upamâna we have देवदत्तः (VI. 2. 148).

निष्ठा च द्व्यजनात् ॥ २०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, च, द्व्यच्, अनात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तं च द्व्यच् संज्ञायां विषये आद्युदात्तं भवति चेदादिराकारो न भवति ॥

205. A disyllabic Participle in त (Nishṭhâ), when a Name has the acute on the first syllable, but not if the first syllable has an आ ॥

Thus गुप्तः, बुद्धः, दत्तः ॥ This debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3). In non-participles we have देवः, भीमः ॥ In polysyllabic Participles we have चिन्तितः, रक्षितः ॥ In Particip'es having long आ in the first syllable, we have, त्रातः, आप्तः ॥ When the Participle is not a Name we have, कृतम्, हृतम् ॥

शुष्कधृष्टौ ॥ २०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क, धृष्टौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरुदात्त इति वर्त्तते । शुष्क धृष्ट इत्येतावाद्युदात्तौ भवतः ॥

206. Also शुष्क and धृष्ट have acute on the first syllable.

These are non-Names. Thus शुष्कः and धृष्टः ॥

आशितः कर्ता ॥ २०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशितः, कर्त्ता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशितशब्दः कर्तृवाची आद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

207. The word आशित meaning 'having eaten' has acute on the first syllable.

Thus आशितो देवदत्तः 'Devadatta, having eaten'. Here it is used as an active participle. The क्त is added to अश् preceded by आ, to form both Active and Passive Participles: which by VI. 2. 144 would have taken acute on the final. This debars that. In the Passive Participle we have आशितम् देवदत्तेन 'eaten by Devadatta'. आशितमन्नम् 'the eaten food'. The former is भावे क्त, the second is कर्मणि क्त ॥

रिक्ते विभाषा ॥ २०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रिक्ते, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रिक्तशब्दे विभाषा आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

208. The word रिक्त may have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus रिक्तः or रिक्तः ॥ This debars VI. 1. 204 and 205.

जुष्टार्पिते च छन्दसि ॥ २०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुष्टा, अर्पिते, च, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुष्ट अर्पित इत्येते शब्दरूपे छन्दसि विषये विभाषा आद्युदात्ते भवतः ॥

209. In the Chhandas, the words जुष्ट and अर्पित have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus जुष्टः or जुष्टः ; अर्पितः or अर्पितः ॥ In the secular literature the accent is always on the last syllable (III. 1. 3).

नित्यं मन्त्रे ॥ २१० ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, मन्त्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुष्ट अर्पित इत्येते शब्दरूपे मन्त्रविषये नित्यमाद्युदात्ते भवतः ॥

210. In the Mantras, these words जुष्ट and अर्पित have always the acute on the first syllable.

Thus जुष्टं देवानामर्पितं पितॄणाम् ॥ Some say that this rule applies only to जुष्ट and not to अर्पित ; in which option is allowed even in the Mantra : so that it has acute on the last in the Mantra even : e. g. तस्मिन्साकं त्रिशता न शंकवोऽर्पिताः ॥

युष्मदस्मदोर्ङसि ॥ २११ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्-अस्मदोः-, ङसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदी मदिक्प्रत्ययान्ते ऽन्तोदात्ते तयोर्ङसि परत आदिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

211. The acute accent is on the first syllable of युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Genitive Singular.

This applies when the forms are मम and तव, and not मे and ते ॥ Thus मम स्वम्, तव स्वम् ॥ The word युष्मद् and अस्मद् are derived from युष and अस by adding the affix मदिक् (Un I. 139) युष्मद् + ङस् = युष्मद् + अश् (VII. 1. 27) = तव अद् + अश् (VI. 2. 96) = तव + अश (VII. 2. 90) = तव (VI. 1. 97). Here by VIII. 2. 5, व would have been udâtta, the present sûtra makes त udâtta. So also with मम ॥

ङयि च ॥ २१२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङयि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोरिति वर्तते, आदिरुदात्त इति च । इत्येतस्मिंश्च परतो युष्मदस्मदोरादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

212. The acute accent is on the first syllable of युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Dative Singular.

Thus तुभ्यम् and मह्यम्, the forms तु and मे are not governed by this rule. The making of two separate sûtras is for the sake of preventing the application of यथासंख्य rule (I. 3. 10). Had the sûtra been युष्मदस्मदो ङिङसोः, then yushmad in the Dative, and asmad in the Genitive alone would have taken this accent.

यतोऽनावः ॥ २१३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यतः, अनावः ॥

वृत्तिः । निष्ठा च द्व्यजनादित्यतो द्व्यज्ग्रहणमनुवर्त्तते । यत्प्रत्ययान्तस्य द्व्यच आदिरुदात्तो भवति न चेन्नौशब्दात्परो भवति ।

213. Whatever is formed by the affix यत्, has, if it is a disyllabic word, the acute on the first syllable, with the exception of नाव्यः from नौ ॥

The word द्व्यच् is understood here from VI. 1. 205. Thus चेयम्, जेयम् (III. 1. 97); कण्ठ्यम्, ओष्ठ्यम् (V. 1. 6). This rule debars the Svarita accent required by तित् (VI. 1. 185) ॥ But नौ—नाव्यम् ॥ The rule does not apply to words of more than two syllables, thus:—चिकीर्ष्यम्, ललाट्यम् ॥

ईडवन्दवृशंसदुहां ण्यतः ॥ २१४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईड, वन्द, वृ, शंस्, दुहाम्, ण्यतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईड वन्द वृ शंस दुह इत्येतेषां यो ण्यत् तदन्तस्यादिरुदात्तो भवति ।

214. The acute accent is on the first syllable of ईड्, वन्द्, वृ, शंस् and दुह्, when they are followed by the affix ण्यत् ॥

Thus ईड्यम्, वन्द्यम्, वार्यम्, शंस्यम्, दोह्या धेनुः ॥ The two letters ण् and त् being indicatory, the 'ṇyat' is not included in 'yat' of the last sûtra. The accent would be regulated by त् ॥ The accent of त् however is debarred by this rule. The वृ in the sûtra is वृङ् संभक्तौ of Kriyadi class: the वृञ् of स्वादि class takes kyap affix. See III. 1. 109.

विभाषा वेण्विन्धानयोः ॥ २१५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वेणु, इन्धानयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेणु इन्धाने इत्येतयोर्विभाषा आदिरुदात्तो भवति ।

215. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable of वेणु and इन्धान ॥

Thus वेणुः or वेणुः; इन्धानः or इन्धानः or इन्धानः ॥ The word वेणु is derived by the Uṇâdi affix णु (III. 38), which being a नित् would *always* have acute on the first. This allows an option. The word इन्धान, if it is formed by चानश् it will have the accent on the final. If it is considered to be formed by शानच्, the affix being a sârvadhâtuka is anudâtta, and as it replaces udâtta final of the root, it becomes udâtta (VI. 1. 161), and thus इन्धान gets acute on the middle. It would never have acute on the first syllable, the present rule ordains that also. When वेणु is used as an upamâna वेणुरिव वेणुः, then it is *invariably* acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 204).

त्यागरागहासकुहश्वठक्रथानाम् ॥ २१६ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्याग, राग, हास, कुह, श्वठ, क्रथानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः । त्याग राग हास कुह श्वठ क्रथ इत्येतेषां विभाषा आदिरुदात्तो भवति ।

216. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllables of त्याग, राग, हास, कुह, श्वठ, and क्रथ ॥

Thus त्यागः or त्यागः, रागः, रागः, हासः, हासः ॥ These are formed by घञ् affix and by VI. 1. 159 would take acute on the final, this ordains acute on the first syllable also. कुहः or कुहः, श्वठः or श्वठः, क्रथः or क्रथः formed by अच् (III. 1. 13).

उपोत्तमं रिति ॥ २१७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपोत्तमम्, रिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रित्प्रत्ययान्तस्योपोत्तममुदात्तं भवति । त्रिप्रभृतीनामन्त्यमुत्तमं तस्य समीपे यत्तदुपोत्तमम् ।

217. What is formed by an affix having an indicatory र, has acute on the penultimate syllable, the full word consisting of more than two syllables.

A penultimate syllable can be only in a word consisting of three syllables or more. Thus करणीयम् and हरणीयम् formed by अनीयर् (III. 1. 96); पटुजातीयः, मृदुजातीयः by जातीयर् (V. 3. 19). This debars III. 1. 3.

चङ्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चङि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चङन्ते ऽन्यतरस्यामुपोत्तममुदात्तं भवति ।

218. The acute accent may be optionally on the penultimate syllable of the reduplicated Aorist in चङ्, the word consisting of more than two syllables.

Thus मा हि चीकरताम् or चीकरताम् ॥ The augment अट् is elided by the addition of मा, VI. 4. 74; हि prevents the verb from becoming anudatta VIII. 1. 34 then comes the चित् accent of चङ् ॥ The augmented form with अट् has acute always on the first syllable VI. 4. 71. When the word is of less than three syllables, the rule does not apply, as, माहि दधत् ॥

मतोः पूर्वमात्संज्ञायां स्त्रियाम् ॥ २१९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतोः, पूर्वम्, आत्, संज्ञायाम्, स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतोः पूर्व आकार उदात्तो भवति तच्चेन्मत्वन्तं स्त्रीलिङ्गं संज्ञा भवति ।

219. The आ before the affix मत् has the acute accent, when the word is a name in the Feminine Gender.

Thus उदुम्बरावती, पुष्करावती, शरावती (IV. 2. 85). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 120. वीरणावती ॥ Why do we say 'the आ'? Observe इक्षुमती, द्रुमवती ॥ The words इक्षु Un. III. 157 and द्रुम (V. 2. 108) are end-acute, so accent is on मतुप् by VI. 1, 176. Why do we say when a name? Observe खट्वावती ॥ खट्वा is formed by क्वन् and has acute on the first (Un. I. 151). Why do we say in

the Feminine Gender? Observe शरावान् ॥ Why do we say when followed by मत्? Observe गवादिनी ॥

अन्तो ऽवत्याः ॥ २२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, अवत्याः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामित्येव । अवतीशब्दान्तस्य संज्ञायामन्त उदात्तो भवति।

220. The Names ending in अवती have the acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus अजिरवती, खदिरवती, हंसवती, कारण्डवती ॥ These words being formed by ङीप् would have been unaccented on the final (III. 1. 4). Why do we use अवती and not वती? Then the rule would apply to राजवती also, for this word is really राजन्वती ending in अन्वती, the subsequent elision of न् is held to be non-valid for the purposes of the application of this rule (VIII. 2. 2). But the change of म into व (मत् = वत्) is considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule.

ईवत्याः ॥ २२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईवत्याः, (उदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईवतीशब्दान्तस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति स्त्रियां संज्ञायां विषये ।

221. The Names ending in ईवती have the acute on the last syllable.

Thus अहीवती, कृषीवती, मुनीवती ॥

चौ ॥ २२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चाविल्यञ्चतिर्लुप्तनकारो गृह्यते । तस्मिन्परतः पूर्वस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चावतद्धितइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

222. In compound words ending in अञ्च्, the final vowel of the preceding word has the acute accent in the weak cases in which only च् of अञ्च् remains.

Thus दधीचः पश्य; दधीचा, दधीचे: मधूचः पश्य, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ This is an exception to VI. 1. 161, 170 and VI. 2. 52.

Vârt:—This rule does not apply before a Taddhita affix. As दाधीचः. माधूचः ॥ Here the accent is regulated by the affix (III. 1. 3).

समासस्य ॥ २२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समासस्य, (उदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ समासस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ।

223. A compound word has the acute on the last syllable.

Thus राजपुरुषः ब्राह्मणकम्बलः, कन्याखनः, पटहशब्दः, नदीघोषः, राजदृषत्, ब्राह्मणसमित् ॥ The consonants being held to be non-existent for the purposes of accent, the udâtta will fall on the vowel though it may not be final, the final being a consonant. The exceptions to this rule will be mentioned in the next chapter.

ओ३म् ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, प्रकृत्या, पूर्वपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदग्रहणमत्र पूर्वपदस्थे स्वरे उदात्ते स्वरिते वा वर्त्तते । बहुव्रीहौ समासे पूर्वपदस्य यः स्वरः स प्रकृत्या भवति, स्वभावेनावातिष्ठते, न विकारमनुदात्तत्वमापद्यते ॥

I. In a Bahuvrîhi, the first member preserves its own original accent.

The word पूर्वपद् means here the accent—whether udâtta or swarita—which is in the first member: प्रकृत्या means, retains its own nature, does not become modified into an anudâtta accent. By the rule VI. 1. 223, the final of a compound gets the accent, so that all the preceding members lose their accent and become anudâtta, as in one word all syllables are unaccented except one. VI. 1. 158. Thus the first member of a Bahuvrîhi would have lost its accent and become anudâtta; with the present sûtra commences the exceptions to the rule that the final of a compound is always udâtta. Thus कार्ष्णोत्तरासङ्गाः ॥ The word कार्ष्ण is derived by the Taddhita affix अञ् (IV. 3. 154) from कृष्ण 'a kind of antelope;' and has the ञित् accent (VI. 1. 197) i. e. on the first syllable: which the word preserves in the compound also. So also यूपवलजः; the word यूप is derived from यु by the Uṇâdi affix प (Uṇ III. 27), before which the vowel becomes lengthened (Uṇ III. 25) and the affix is treated as नित् (Un III. 26), and hence the word is acutely accented on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). So also ब्रह्मचारिपरिस्कन्दः; the word ब्रह्मचारिन् has a Kṛit-formed word as its second part, and gets the acute on the final (VI. 2. 139). So also स्नातकपुत्रः, the word स्नातक is derived by कन् (V. 4. 29) affix and has नित accent (VI. 1. 197) i. e. udâtta on the first syllable. So also अध्यापकपुत्रः, the word अध्यापक is accented on the middle as it is formed by a लित् affix (III. 1. 133, VI. 1. 193). श्रोत्रियपुत्रः, the श्रोत्रिय being enounced with an indicatory न् in Sûtra V. 2. 84 is acutely accented on the first. मनुष्यनाथः, the word मनुष्य being formed by यत् (IV. 1. 161) a तित् affix is svarita (VI. 1. 185),

The words udâtta and svarita are understood in this aphorism. Therefore if *all* the syllables of the pûrvapada are anudâtta, the present rule has no scope there, and such a compound will get udâtta on the final by the universal rule enunciated in VI. 1. 223. Thus समभागः, here सम being *all* anudâtta, the accent falls on ग ॥

तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषे, तुल्यार्थ, तृतीया, सप्तमी, उपमान, अव्यय, द्वितीया, कृत्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे तुल्यार्थं तृतीयान्तं सप्तम्यन्तमुपमानवाचि अव्ययं द्वितीयान्तं कृत्यान्तं च यत्पूर्वपदं तत्प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्यये नञ्कुनिपातानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

2. In a Tatpurusha, the first member preserves its original accent, when it is a word (1) meaning "a resemblance", or (2) an Instrumental or (3) a Locative or (4) a word with which the second member is compared, (5) or an Indeclinable, or (6) an Accusative, or (7) a Future Passive Participle.

Thus (1) तुल्यश्वेतः, तुल्यलोहित, तुल्यमहान्, सदृक्श्वेतः, सदृग्लोहितः, सदृग्महान् ॥ These are Karmadhâraya compounds formed under II. 1. 68: and तुल्य being formed by यत् is acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 216). The word सदृश् is formed by क्विन् (III. 2, 60 Vârt), and has acute on the final (VI. 1. 197 and VI. 2. 139). So also सदृशश्वेतः सदृशलोहितः, सदृशमहान् ॥ The word सदृश is formed by कञ् added to दृश्, and by VI. I. 197 the accent falls on दृ (VI. 2. 139). (2) When the first member is in the Instrumental case, as:—शंकुलया खण्डः = शंकुलाखण्डः, so also किरिकाणः (II. 1. 30) शंकुला is derived from शंकु+ला ॥ To the root ला is added the affix क with the force of घञ्, and thus the noun ला is udâtta: or the whole word शंकुला is a word formed by क affix and hence VI. 1. 165 applies and is final-acute. किरिः is formed by the Uṇâdi affix इ to कृ (Uṇ IV. 143), and it being treated as a कित् (Uṇ. IV. 142) has udâtta on the final.

(3) When the first member is a word in the Locative case, as:—अक्षेषु शौण्डः = अक्षशौण्डः, so also पानशौण्डः ॥ The word अक्ष is formed by the affix स added to अश् (Uṇ III. 65), and is final acute (III. 1, 3). The word पान is formed by ल्युट् affix added to पा, and is acute on the first (VI. 1. 193) owing to the लित् accent. (4) When the first member is a word with which the second member is compared, as:—शस्त्रीश्यामा, कुमुदश्येनी, हंसगद्गदा, न्यग्रोधपरिमण्डला, दूर्वाकाण्डश्यामा, शरकाण्डगौरी ॥ These compounds are formed by II. 1. 55. शस्त्री is formed by ङीष् and is final-acute; कुमुद is formed by क affix (कौ मोदते = कुमुद) see III. 2. 5. Vârt: and is acutely accented on the first, or by Phit sûtra II. 3 it has acute on the first. हंस is formed by the Uṇâdi affix स added to हन्

(Uṇ III. 62), and is finally accented (III. 1. 3). न्यग्रोहति = न्यग्रोधः formed by अच् (III. 1. 134), and ह is irregularly changed into ध as Pânini himself uses this form (VII. 3. 5): and it is accented in the middle. The words दूर्वाकाण्ड, शरकाण्ड are Genitive Tatpurusha, and their second member has accent on the first syllable (VI. 2. 135). (5) When the first member is an Indeclinable, as, अब्राह्मणः, अवृषलः, कुब्राह्मणः, कुवृषलः ॥ निष्कौशाम्बिः, निर्वाराणसिः, अतिखट्वः, अतिमालः ॥ All these Indeclinable compounds have udâtta on the first. they are formed by II. 2. 5 &c.

Vârt:—In cases of Indeclinable compounds. the rule applies only to those which are formed by the negative Particle अ, by कु, and by Particles (nipâta). Though नञ् is one of the Nipâtas, its separate mention indicates that नञ्-accent debars even the subsequent कृत्-accent as अकरणिः ॥ Therefore, it does not apply here स्नात्वाकालकः which has acute on the final and belongs to Mayuravyṅsakâdi class.

(6) When the first member as in the accusative case, as:—मुहूर्तसुखम्, मुहूर्तरमणीयम, सर्वरात्रकल्याणी, सर्वरात्रशोभना ॥ They are formed by II. 1. 29. मुहूर्त belongs to पृषोदरादि class and is acutely accented on the last. सर्वरात्र is formed by the samâsanta affix अच and is finally accented.

(7) When the first member is a Kritya-formed word, as, भोज्यलवणम्, भोज्योष्णम्, पानीयशीतम्, हरणीयचूर्णम् (II. 1. 68). भोज्य is formed by ण्यत् and has svarita on the final: पानीय and हरणीय are formed by अनीयर् and are accented on the penultimate (VI. 1. 185 and 217) i. e. on ई ॥

वर्णो वर्णेष्वनेते ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णः, वर्णेषु, अनेते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदं, तत्पुरुषइति च वर्तते। वर्णे वर्णवाचि पूर्वपदं वर्णवाचिष्वेवोत्तरपदेषु एतशब्दवर्जितेषु परतस्तत्पुरुषे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

3. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its original accent, when a word denoting color is compounded with another color denoting word, but not when it is the word एत ॥

Thus कृष्णसारङ्गी, लोहितसारङ्गी, कृष्णकल्माषः, लोहितकल्माषः ॥ कृष्ण is formed by नक affix (Uṇ. III. 4) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). लोहित is formed by the affix तन् added to रुह् (Uṇ. III. 94) and has accent on the first (VI. 1. 197).

Why do we say 'color-denoting word,? Observe परमकृष्णः (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say 'with another color denoting word'? Observe कृष्णतिलाः (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say 'but not when it is एत'? Observe कृष्णैतः, लोहितैतः ॥ The compounding takes place by II.1. 69.

गाधलवणयोः प्रमाणे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाध, लवणयोः, प्रमाणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे गाध लवण इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

4. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its original accent, when the second term is गाध or लवण, and the compound expresses a 'measure or mass'.

Thus शम्बगाधमुदकम्, अरित्रगाधमुदकम् 'water as low or fordable as a Śamba or an Aritra i. e. of the depth of an oar or a pestle'. गोलवणम्, अश्वलवणम् 'so much salt as may be given to a cow or a horse'. These are Genitive Tatpurusha compounds. शम्ब is formed by adding वन् to शम् (Uṇ. IV. 94), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). अरित्र is formed by the affix इत्र added to ऋ (III. 2. 184), and has acute on the middle (III. 1. 3): गो is formed by डो (Uṇ II. 68) and has acute on the final ओ; अश्व is formed by क्वन् affix added to अश् (Uṇ. I. 151), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). The word प्रमाण here denotes 'quantity', 'measure', 'mass', 'limit', and not merely the length. The power of denoting measure by these words is here indicated by and is dependent upon accent.

When not denoting प्रमाण we have परमगाधम् and परमलवणम् ॥

दायाद्यं दायादे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दायाद्यम्, दायादे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे दायादशब्दउत्तरपदे दायाद्यवाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

5. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the word दायाद as its second member, the first member denoting inheritance preserves its original accent.

Thus विद्यादायादः, धनदायादः ॥ The word विद्या is formed by the affix क्यप् (III. 3. 99) which is udâtta (III. 3. 96). The word धन is derived by adding क्यु to धाञ् (Uṇ. II. 81). Though the Uṇâdi Sûtra II. 81 ordains क्यु after the root धा preceded by नि, yet by बहुल (III. 3. 1) rule it comes after धा also when it is not preceded by नि and धन has acute on the first (III. 1. 3).

In the forms विद्यादायादः &c, what Genitive case has been taken? If it is the Genitive case which the word दायाद requires by Rule II. 3. 39, then by the Vârtika प्रतिपदविधाना च षष्ठी न समस्यते (II. 2. 10 Vart), there can be no compounding. The Genitive case there is the ordinary Genitive case of II. 3. 50. i. e. a शैषिक Genitive case, and not a प्रतिपद Genitive. If it is a शेषलक्षण Genitive case, then why the other Geintive case is taught in II. 3. 39 with regard to दायाद &c. That sûtra only indicates the existence of the Locative case in the *alternative*, and does not pervent the Genitive. In fact, had merely Locative been ordianed in that sûtra, this particular case would have prevented the Genitive on the maxim that a particular rule debars the general. But the employment of both terms Genitive and Locative in that sûtra indicates the *alternative* nature of the rule and shows that the Genitive case so taught is not a प्रतिपद Genitive, but a general Genitive. In short the Genitive taught in II.

3. 39, is not an apûrva-vidhi, the words naturally would have taken Genitive; the taking of the Locative is the only new thing taught there.

Why do we say 'when meaning inheritance'? Observe परमज्ञायाई: (VI. 1. 223) taking the final acute of a compound.

प्रतिबन्धि चिरकृच्छ्रयोः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिबन्धि, चिर, कृच्छ्रयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे चिरकृच्छ्रयोरुत्तरपदयोः प्रतिबन्धिवाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

6. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the words **चिर** or **कृच्छ्र** as its second member, the first member, when it denotes that which experiences an obstacle, preserves its original accent.

Thus गमनचिरम्, गमनकृच्छ्रम्, व्याहरणचिरम् or व्याहरणकृच्छ्रम् ॥ The words गमन and व्याहरण are formed by ल्युट् affix, and have लित् accent (VI. 1. 193). This compound belongs either to the class of Mayûra-vyaṅsakâdi (II. 1. 72), or of an attribute and the thing qualified. When *going* to a place is *delayed* owing to some defective arrangement or cause, or becomes *difficult*, there is produced an *obstacle* or hinderance, and is called गमनचिरं or गमनकृच्छ्रं ॥ Why do we say 'which experiences a hinderance'? Observe मूत्रकृच्छ्रम् ॥

पदेऽपदेशे ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदे, अपदेशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदेशो व्याजस्तद्वाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पदशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

7. In a Tatpurusha compound the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word **पद** denoting 'a pretext'.

The word अपदेश means 'a pretext', 'a contrivance'. Thus मूत्रपदेन प्रस्थितः, उच्चारपदेन प्रस्थितः ॥ Gone on pretext of voiding urine or excreta.

The word मूत्र is derived by adding the affix ष्ट्रन् to the root मुच्, the ऊ being substituted for उच् of मुच्, (Uṇ. IV. 163), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197) or it may be a word formed by घञ् to the root मूत्रयति ॥ The word उच्चार is also formed by घञ् and by VI. 2. 144 has acute on the final. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 72 or it is an attributive compound.

Why do we say "when meaning a pretext?" Observe विष्णोः पदम् = विष्णुपदम् ॥

निवाते वातत्राणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निवाते, वात-त्राणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निवातशब्दउत्तरपदे वातत्राणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वं पदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

8. In a Tatpurusha compound, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word **निवात** in the sense of 'a protection from wind'.

Thus कुट्येव निवातं = कुटीनिवातम् 'a hut as the only shelter from the wind'. So also शमीनिवातम्, कुड्यनिवातम् or कुड्यनिवातम् ॥ The word निवात is an Avyayî-

bhâva compound = वातस्य अभावः (II. 1. 6): or a Bahuvrîhi = निरुद्धो वातोऽस्मिन् ॥ The words कुटीनिवातम् &c, are examples of compounds of two words in apposition. कुटी and शमी are formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 41) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). Some say that कुड्य is derived from कु by adding यत् with the augment डुक् and treating it as कित्, is has the acute on the first; others hold that it is derived by the affix ड्यक् to कु and the affix has the accent.

Why do we say when meaning 'a shelter from wind'? Observe राजनिवाते वसति, सुखं मातृनिवाते = 'he lives under the shelter of the king'; 'pleasant is the shelter or the protection of the mother'. Here निवात = पार्श्वः or vicinity.

शारदे ऽनार्तवे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शारदे, अनार्त्तवे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतौ भवमार्तवम्। अनार्तववाचिनि शारदशब्दउत्तरपदं तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

9. In a Tatpurusha compound the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word शारद, having any other sense than that of 'autumnal'.

The word आर्तव means appertaining to season (ऋतु) i. e. when the word शारद does not refer to the season of शरत् or autumn. Thus रज्जुशारदमुदकम् 'fresh drawn water'. So also दृषत् शारदाः सक्तवः 'the saktu flour fresh from the mill'. The word शारद means here 'fresh' 'new': and it forms an invariable compound. The word रज्जु is formed by उ affix added to सृज् (Uṇ. I. 15), the स being elided. The affix उ is treated as नित् (Uṇ. I. 9) and the accent falls on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). The word दृषत् is formed by the augment ष and shortening of the vowel of the root दृ 'to tear' (दृणाति), and the affix अदिक् (Uṇ. I. 131) and has accent on the final (III. 1. 3).

Why do we say 'when not meaning autumnal'? Observe परमशारदम्, उत्तमशारदम् 'the best autumnal grass &c'. (VI. 1. 223).

अध्वर्युकषाययोर्जातौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्वर्यु, कषाययोः, जातौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्वर्युकषाय इत्येतयोर्जातिवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

10. In a Tatpurusha compound denoting a genus, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word अध्वर्यु or कषाय ॥

Thus प्राच्याध्वर्युः, कठाध्वर्युः, कालापाध्वर्युः ॥ These are Appositional compounds denoting 'genus or kind', with a fixed meaning. प्राच्य is formed by यत्, and has accent on the first (VI, 1. 213). कठ is derived by अच् affix (III. 1. 34), and to it is added the Taddhita affix णिनि (IV. 3. 104), in the sense of कठेन प्रोक्तं (IV. 3. 101), and the affix is then elided by IV. 3. 107. The word कालाप comes from कलापिन् + अण् (IV. 3. 108) in the sense of कलापिना प्रोक्तं (IV. 3.

101), and it would have preserved its form without change before this affix (VI. 4. 164) but for a vârtika which declares that the इन् of कलापिन् will be elided (See VI. 1. 144 vart). Thus कालाप gets accent on the final (III. 1. 3). So also सर्पिर्मण्डकषायम्, उमापुष्पकषायम्, दौवारिककषायम् ॥ These are Genitive compounds. The words सर्पिमण्ड and उमापुष्प are Genitive compounds and have accent on the final (VI. 1. 223). The word दौवारिक is formed by ठक् affix added to द्वार and has acute on the final (VI. 1. 165). Why do we say when meaning a 'genus'? Observe, परमाध्वर्युः, परमकषायः (VI. 1. 223).

सदृशप्रतिरूपयोः सादृश्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदृश, प्रतिरूपयोः, सादृश्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदृश प्रतिरूप इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः सादृश्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

11. In a Tatpurusha compound expressing resemblance with some one or something, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is सदृश or प्रतिरूप ॥

Thus पितृसदृशः, मातृसदृशः ॥ The words पितृ and मातृ are formed by Uṇâdi affix तृच् (Un. II. 95) and are finally accented. By II. 1. 31, सदृश forms Instrumental Tatpurusha. That case, however, is governed by VI. 2. 2, which provides for Instrumental compounds. The examples here given are of Genitive Tatpurusha: and it applies to cases where the case-ending is not elided. As दास्याः सदृशो, वृषल्याः सदृशः ॥ Here दासी and वृषली are finally acute, and the case-affix gets the accent when semivowel is substituted (VI. 1. 174), So also पितृप्रतिरूपः, मातृप्रतिरूपः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning resemblance'? Observe परमसदृशः, उत्तमसदृशः (VI, 1. 223): here the sense of the compound is that of 'honor' and not 'resemblance'.

द्विगौ प्रमाणे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगौ, प्रमाणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगावुत्तरपदे प्रमाणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

12. In a Tatpurusha compound denoting 'measure or quantity', the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is a Dvigu.

Thus प्राच्यसप्तसमः and गान्धारिसप्तसमः ॥ The word सप्तसमः = सप्तसमाः प्रमाणमस्य, the affix मात्रच् denoting 'measure' (V. 2. 37) is elided (See V. 2. 37 Vart) प्राच्यश्चासौ सप्तसमश्च = प्राच्यसप्तसमः "an Eastern seven-years old". So also गान्धारिसप्तसमः or °षट्समः ॥ प्राच्य has acute on the first; while गान्धारि is either accented on the first or on the middle; as it belongs to the Kardamâdi class (Phit III. 10). Why do we say 'before a Dvigu'? Observe व्रीहिप्रस्थः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting measure?' Observe परमसप्तसमः ॥

गन्तव्यपण्यं वाणिजे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गन्तव्य, पण्यम्, वाणिजे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाणिजशब्द उत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे गन्तव्यवाचि पण्यवाचि च पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

13. Before the word वाणिज 'a trader', the first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, when it is a word specifying the place whither one has to go, or the ware in which one deals.

Thus मद्रवाणिजः, काश्मीरवाणिजः, गान्धारिवाणिजः = मद्रादिषु गत्वा व्यवहरन्ति 'the Madra-merchants i. e. who trade by going to Madra &c' All these are Locative compounds. मद्र is derived by रक् affix (Uṇ II, 13) and is acutely accented on the last (VI. 1. 165). काश्मार belongs to Kṛshodarâdi class (VI. 3. 109), and has acute either on the first or the second syllable. The word गान्धारि belongs to the Kardamâdi class, and is consequently acute on the first or the second (Phit III. 10) In the sense of पण्य we have: गोवाणिजः 'a dealer in cows', अश्ववाणिजः &c. गो is finally accented (Un II. 67): and अश्व has acute on the first (Un I. 151) the affix being क्वन् ॥

Why do we say 'the place whither one goes, or the goods in which one deals?' Observe परमवाणिजः, उत्तमवणिजः ॥

मात्रोपज्ञोपक्रमच्छाये नपुंसके ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मात्रा, उपज्ञा, उपक्रम, छाये, नपुंसके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रा उपज्ञा उपक्रम छाया एतेषूत्तरपदेषु नपुंसकवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

14. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent before the words मात्रा, उपज्ञा, उपक्रम and छाया when these words appear as neuter.

Thus भिक्षामात्रं न ददाति याचितः, समुद्रमात्रं न सरोऽस्ति किंचन ॥ The word मात्रा is here synonymous with तुल्य, the phrase being = भिक्षायास्तुल्यप्रमाणं, and is a Genitive compound. The word भिक्षा is derived from भिक्ष, by the feminine affix अ (III. 3. 103), and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word समुद्र has also acute on the final as it is a word denoting 'a sea', (Phiṭ sûtra I. 2). So also with उपज्ञा, as पाणिनोपज्ञमकालकं व्याकरणम्; व्याडुपज्ञं दुष्करणम् आपिशल्युपज्ञं गुरुलाघवं (see II. 4. 21). All these are Genitive compounds. The word पाणिन is derived by अण् affix from पणिन् (पणिनोऽपत्यम् = पाणिनः), and has acute on the final, (III. 1. 3). The word व्याडि being formed by इञ् affix has acute on the first (VI 1. 197), so also आपिशलि ॥ So also with उपक्रम, as आढ्योपक्रमं प्रासादः, दर्शनीयोपक्रमम्, सुकुमारोपक्रमम्, नन्दोपक्रमाणि मानानि ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. The word आढ्य (तत्रैनं ध्यायन्ति) is derived from आ + ध्यै + क affix added with the force of घञ्, the ध being changed to ढ the word belonging to पृषोदरादि class (VI. 3. 109), and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144. The word दर्शनीय is formed by अनीयर् and has acute on the penultimate नी owing to the indicatory र् (VI. 1. 217). The word सुकुमार has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172. The word नन्द is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134). The Tatpurusha compounds ending in उपज्ञा and उपक्रम are neuter by II. 4. 21. So also with छाया, as इषुच्छायम्,

धैनुष्छायम् ॥ The word इषु is derived from इष् by उ affix (Un I. 13), and it being treated as नित् (Un I. 9) the acute falls on इ the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). The word धनुस् has also acute on the first by Phiṭ sûtra II. 3. The compound is a Genitive Tatpurusha—इषूणां छाया ; and it is Neuter by II. 4. 22. When the compound is not a Neuter we have कुड्यछाया (II. 4. 25).

सुखप्रिययोर्हिते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख, प्रिययोः, हिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुख प्रिय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्हितवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

15. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, when the second term is सुख् or प्रिय, and the sense is 'to feel delight, or is good'.

Thus गैमनसुखम् 'the pleasure of going'. So also वैचनसुखम्, व्याहैरणसुखम्, गैमनप्रियम्, वैचनप्रियम्, व्याहैरणप्रियम् ॥ These are appositional compounds. All the above words are formed by ल्युट् affix and have acute on the syllable preceding the affix (VI. 1. 193). The words sukha and priya have the sense of हित or 'well *good* 'beneficial', i. e. when the thing denoted by the first term is the cause of pleasure or delght. When this is not the sense we have परमसुखम्, परमप्रियम् ॥

प्रीतौ च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रीतौ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रीतौ गम्यमानायां सुख प्रिय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोस्तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

16. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, the second term being सुख or प्रिय, in the sense of "agreeable to one, or desired".

Thus ब्राह्मणसुखं पायसं "the sweetmilk desired by or agreeable to the Brâhmanas", छात्रप्रियोऽनध्यायः ॥ कन्याप्रियो मृदङ्गः ॥ &c. The words ब्राह्मण and छात्र have acute on the final being formed by the affixes अण् and ण (V. 4. 62) respectively (III. 1. 3) and कन्या has svarita on the final. When not meaning agreeable to or desired, we have राजसुखम्, राजप्रियम् ॥

स्वं स्वामिनि ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, स्वामिनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वामिशब्दउत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे स्ववाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

17. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the word स्वामिन् as its second member, the first term, when it denotes the thing possessed, retains its original accent.

Thus गोस्वामी, अश्वस्वामी, धनस्वामी ॥ The accents of गो, अश्व and धन have already been mentioned before in VI. 2. 14.. When the first member is not a word denoting possession, we have परमस्वामी ॥

पत्यावैश्वर्ये ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्यौ, ऐश्वर्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपदे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

18. In a Tatpurusha ending in पति when it means 'master' or lord', the first member preserves its original accent.

Thus गृहपतिः, सेनापतिः, नरपतिः, धान्यपतिः ॥ The word गृह is formed by क (III. 1. 144) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word सेना is a Bahuvrihi (सह इनेन वर्तते = सेना), and by VI. 2. 1 the first member retains its accent. The word नर is derived from नृ 'to lead' by the affix अप् (III. 3. 57) and has acute on the first (III. 1. 4), the word धान्य has svarita on the final (See Phit II. 23 ?) Why do we say when meaning 'lord'? Observe ब्राह्मणो वृषलीपतिः "a Brahmana, husband of a Sûdrâ".

न भू वाक्चिद्दिधिषु ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भू, वाक्, चित्, दिधिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपदे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे भू वाक् चित् दिधिषू इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि प्रकृतिस्वराणि न भवन्ति ॥

19. The words भू, वाक्, चित् and दिधिषू, however, do not preserve their original accent in a Tatpurusha when coming before the word पति denoting 'lord'.

This debars the accent taught by the last aphorism. Thus भूपतिः, वाक्पतिः, चित्पतिः, दिधिषूपतिः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds and are finally accented by VI. 1. 223.

वा भुवनम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भुवनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपदे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे भुवनशब्दः पूर्वपदं वा प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

20. The word भुवन may optionally keep its accent in a Tatpurusha, before पति denoting 'lord'.

Thus भुवनपतिः or भुवनपतिः ॥ The word भुवन is formed by क्युन् (Uṇ. II. 80), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). Though Sûtra II. 80 (Unadi) ordains क्युन् after भू in the Vedas only, yet on the theory of बहुल (III. 1. 3), it comes in the secular literature also, as भुवनपतिरादित्यः ॥

आशङ्काबाधनेदीयस्सु संभावने ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशङ्क, आ बाध, नेदियस्सु, संभावने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदं तत्पुरुषइति वर्त्तते । आशङ्क आबाध नेदीयस् इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु संभावनवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

21. Before आशङ्क, आबाध and नेदीयस्, the first member in a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when it treats about a supposition.

The word संभावनम् = अस्तित्वाध्यवसायः "the hesitation about the existence of a thing'. Thus गमनाशङ्कं वर्तते 'one fears the journey'; so also वचनाशङ्कं, व्याहरणाशङ्कं, &c. Similarly गमनाबाधम् वर्तते = गमनं बाध्यते इति संभाव्यते "it has stepped in as

an obstacle to journey". So also वैचनाबाधम्, व्याहरणाबाधम् ॥ Similarly गमननेदीयो वर्तते, वैचननेदीयः व्याहरणनेदीयः = गमनमिति निकटतरमिति संभाव्यते "the journey stands directly before".

Why do we say when a supposition is meant? Observe परमनेदीयः ॥ All the above words are formed by ल्युट् affix and have लित् accent. (VI. 1. 193).

पूर्वे भूतपूर्वे ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वे, भूतपूर्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वशब्दउत्तरपदे भूतपूर्ववाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

22. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent when the word पूर्व is the second member, and the sense is "this had been lately——".

Thus आढ्यो भुतपूर्वः = आढ्यपूर्वः "formely had been rich". The compound must be analysed in the above way. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 57 or it belongs to Mayura-vyansakâdi class. So also दर्शनीयपूर्वः, सुकुमारपूर्वः ॥

Why do we say when meaning 'had been lately'. Observe परमपूर्वः, उत्तमपूर्वः, which should be analysed as परमश्चासौ पूर्वश्चेति ॥ If it is analysed as परमो भूतपूर्वः then it becomes an example under the rule and not a counter-example. In order therefore, to make this rule applicable we must know the sense of the compound.

सविधसनीडसमर्यादसवेशसदेशेषु सामीप्ये ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सविध, सनीड, समर्याद, सवेश, सदेशेषु, सामीप्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सविध सनीड समर्याद सवेश इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु सामीप्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

23. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when the second 'member is सविध, सनीड, समर्याद, सवेश, and सदेश in the sense of "what can be found in the vicinity thereof".

Thus मद्रसविधम्, गान्धारिसविधम्, काश्मीरसविधम् ॥ So also मद्रसनीडम्, मद्रसमर्यादम्, मद्रसवेशम् and मद्रसदेशम् So also with गान्धारि and काश्मिर ॥ The accents of these words have been taught before in Sûtra VI. 2. 12, 13. The words सविध &c, are derived from सह विधया &c, but they all mean 'in the vicinity': मद्रसविधं = मद्राणां सामिप्यम् ॥ Why do we say when meaning in the vicinity thereof? Observe सह मर्यादया वर्तते = समर्यादं क्षेत्रम् 'a field having boundary'. देवदत्तस्य समर्यादं = देवदत्तसमर्यादम् "the bounded field of D'. Why do we say सविध &c? Observe देवदत्तसमर्या ॥

विस्पष्टादीनि गुणवचनेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विस्पष्ट, आदीनि-गुणवचनेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विस्पष्टादीनि पूर्वपदानि गुणवचनेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वराणि भवन्ति ॥

24. The words विस्पष्ट &c preserve their accent when followed by an Adjective word in a compound,

Thus वि॑स्पष्ट कटुकम्, वि॑चित्रकटुकम् व्य॑क्तकटुकम्, वि॑स्पष्टलवणम्, वि॑चित्रलवणम्, व्य॑क्त-लवणम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 4, and it should be analysed thus विस्पष्टं कटुकम् &c.

The words विस्पष्ट &c, are indeed here adjectives, and in conjunction with कटु &c, they denote an object possessing those qualities; and therefore not being in apposition, the compound is not a Karmadhâraya.

The word विस्पष्ट has acute on the first by VI. 2. 49. The word विचित्र is also acute on the first as it gets the accent of the Indeclinable. Some read the word as विचित्तः, which being a Bahuvṛîhi has also first acute. The word व्यक्त has svarita on the first by VIII. 2. 4. The remaining words of this class are संपन्न॑, प॑टु or कटु, पण्डित॑, कुशल॑, चपल॑ and निपुण॑. Of these, the word संपन्न॑ has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144; प॑टु is formed by उ (Uṇ I. 18), which being considered as नित् (Uṇ I. 9), it has acute on the first. पण्डित is formed by क्त to the root पड्, and is finally acute (VI. 2. 144). कुशल has accent on the final being formed by a kṛit affix (कुशान् लाति = कुशलः, ला आदाने, or Uṇ I. 106), चपल being formed by a चित् affix (Uṇ I. 111), has acute on the final (VI. 1. 163), for चित् is understood in the Uṇadi sûtra Uṇ. I. 111 from sûtra Uṇ. I. 106. The word निपुण has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, being formed by क affix added to पुण् &c.

Why do we say 'of विस्पष्ट &c' Observe परमलवण॑म् उत्तमलवण॑म्, both having acute on the final. Why do we say "when followed by a word expressing a quality"? Observe विस्पष्टब्राह्मणः ॥

श्रज्यावमकन्पापवत्सु भावे कर्मधारये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्र, ज्य, अवम, कन्, पापवत्सु, भावे, कर्मधारये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्र ज्य अवम कन् इत्येतेषु पापशब्दवति चोत्तरपदे कर्मधारये समासे भाववाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

25. In a Karmadhâraya compound, the first member consisting of a Verbal noun (भाव), preserves its original accent before adjective forms built from श्र (V. 3. 60), ज्य (V. 3. 61) अवम and कन् (V. 3. 64), and before a form built from the word पाप ॥

Thus ग॑मनश्रेष्ठम्, or ग॑मनश्रेयः, व॑चनज्येष्ठम् or वचनज्यायः; ग॑मनावमम्, व॑चनावमम्, ग॑म-नकनिष्ठम् or गमनकनीयः ॥ So also ग॑मनपापिष्ठम्, ग॑मनपापीयः ॥ All the first members are ल्युट् formed words and have लित् accent i. e. on the first syllable. (VI. 1. 193). The words श्र, ज्य and कन् are substitutes which certain adjectives take in the comparative and superlative degree, and the employment of these forms in the sûtra indicates that the comparative and superlative words having these ele-

ments should be taken as second members, and so also of पाप, the comparative and superlative are taken, for this is the meaning here of the word पापवत् ॥

Why do we say "श्र &c"? Observe गमनशोभनम् ॥ Why do we say 'a verbal Noun'? Observe गमनश्रेयः, where the word गमन is = गम्यते ऽनेन 'a carraige'. Why do we say 'a Karmadhâraya compound'? Observe गमनं श्रेयः = गमनश्रेयः ॥

कुमारश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमारः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमारशब्दः पूर्वपदं कर्मधारये समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

26. The word कुमार preserves its original accent when standing as a first member in a Karmadhâraya compound.

Thus कुमारँकुलटा, कुमारँश्रमणा, कुमारँतापसी ॥ The word कुमारँ has acute on the final as it is derived from the root कुमार क्रीडायाम् with the affix अच् of पचादि ॥ By II. 1. 70, it is ordained that कुमार is compounded with श्रमण &c. Some commentators hold that the word कुमार must be followed by श्रमण &c. (II. 1. 70) to make this rule applicable. They refer to the maxim लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम् "whenever a term is employed which might denote both something original and also something else resulting from a rule of grammar, or when a term is employed in a rule which might denote both something formed by another rule in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule, such a term should be taken to denote, in the former case, only that which is original, and in the latter case, only that which is formed by that rule in which the same individual term has been employed." Other Grammarians, however do not make any such limitation, but apply the rule to all Karmadhâraya compounds of कुमार ॥

आदिः प्रत्येनसि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, प्रत्येनसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारयइति वर्त्तते । प्रतिगत एनसा प्रतिगतमेनो वा यस्य सः प्रत्येनाः । तस्मिन्नुत्तरपदे कर्मधारस्यादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

27. In a Karmadhârya compound of Kumâra followed by प्रत्येनस्, the acute falls on the first syllable of Kumâra.

The word प्रत्येनस् = प्रतिगत एनसा or प्रतिगतमेनो यस्य ॥ Thus कुँमारप्रत्येनाः ॥ The word udâtta is required to be read into the sûtra to complete the sense: for the construction of the sûtra requires it, and the anuvritti of the 'first member preserves its accent' would be inappropriate because the word आदिं is employed here.

पूगेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूगेषु, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूगा गणास्तद्वाचिन्युत्तरपदे कर्मधारये समासे कुमारस्यान्यतरस्यामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

28. The first syllable of Kumâra is acute optionally, when the second member is a word denoting 'the name of a horde'.

The word पूग means 'a multitude, a collection &c'. See V. 3. 112 also. Thus कुँमारचातकाः or कुमारँचातका (VI. 2. 26), or कुमारचातकाँः ॥ So also कुँमारलोहध्वजाः or कुमारँलोहध्वजाः or कुमारलोहध्वजाँः ॥ So also with कुँमारँबलाहकाः, कुँमारँजीमूतकाः ॥ Here चातक &c, are horde-names; and the affix ञ्य is added to them by V. 3. 112: which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 62. In the above examples when the word 'Kumâra' is not accented on the first syllable, it gets accent on the last by VI. 2. 26, when the प्रतिपदोक्त maxim is not applied: when that maxim is applied, the final of the compound takes the accent by the general rule VI. 1. 223.

इगन्तकालकपालभगालशरावेषु द्विगौ ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इगन्त, काल, कपाल, भगाल, शरावेषु, द्विगौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तउत्तरपदे कालवाचिनि कपाल भगाल शराव इत्येतेषु च द्विगौ समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

29. In a Dvigu compound, the first member preserves its original accent, before a stem ending in a simple vowel, with the exception of अ (इक्), before a word denoting time, as well as before कपाल, भगाल and शराव ॥

Thus पैञ्चारत्निः, दैशारत्निः ॥ The above are examples of Taddhitârtha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), equal to पंचारत्नयः प्रमाणमस्य, the प्रमाण denoting-affix मात्रच् is always elided in Dvigu (V. 2. 3 Vârt). So also पैञ्चमास्यः, दैशमास्यः = पञ्च मासान् भृतो भूतो भावी वा. This is also a Taddhitârtha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), formed by the affix यप् (V. 1. 80—82). So also पैञ्चवर्षः दैशवर्षः the affix ठञ् being elided (V. 1. 88). So also पैञ्चकपालः, दैशकपालः, पैञ्चभगालः, दैशभगालः, पैञ्चशरावः, दैशशरावः ॥ These are also Taddhitartha Dvigu formed by IV. 2. 16, the affix अण् being elided by IV. 1. 88.

Why do we say "before an इगन्त stem &c"? Observe पंचभिरश्वैः क्रीतः = पञ्चाश्वैः, दशाश्वैः ॥ Why do we say "in a Dvigu Compound?" Observe परमारत्निः, परमशरावँम् ॥

When these Dvigu compounds, by case-modifications do not end in इक् vowel, but the vowel is replaced by a semi vowel or Guṇa, the rule will still apply. Thus पैञ्चारत्न्यः or पैञ्चारत्नयः ॥ This is done on the strength of the maxim असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे. "That which is bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect or as not existing, when that which is antaranga is to take effect:" because the substitution of semivowel or guṇa is a bahiranga opera-

tion in relation to accent. Or the substitutes may be considered as sthânivat to the short-vowel which they replace.

बह्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुशब्दः पूर्वपदमिगन्तादिषूत्तरपदेषु द्विगौ समासे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

30. In a Dvigu compound, the word बहु may optionally preserve its accent when followed by an ik-ending stem, or by a time-word, or by kapâla, bhagâla and śarâva.

This allows option where the last rule required the accent necessarily. Thus बह्वरत्निः or बह्वरत्निः, बहुमास्यः or बहुमास्यः, बहुकपालः or बहुकपालैः, बहुभगालः or बहुभगालैः, बहुशरावः or बहुशरावैः ॥ The word बहु has acute on the final being formed by the affix कु (Uṇ I. 29). When the उ is changed to व्, as in the first example, the anudatta अ is changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 4 : when the first member preserves its acccent. In the other alternative, the accent falls on the last syllable.

दिष्टिवितस्त्योश्च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिष्टि, वितस्त्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिष्टि वितस्ति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्द्विगौ समासे पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

31. In a Dvigu compound, the first member may optionally preserve its accent, when followed by the words दिष्टि and वितस्ति as second members.

Thus पञ्चदिष्टिः or पञ्चदिष्टिः, पञ्चवितस्तिः or पञ्चवितस्तिः ॥ The affix मात्रच् is elided after the प्रमाण denoting words dishṭi and vitasti (V. 2. 37).

सप्तमी सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धेष्वकालात् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, सिद्ध, शुष्क, पक्व, बन्धेषु, अकालात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं पूर्वपदं सिद्ध शुष्क पक्व बन्ध इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषुप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति सा चेत्सप्तमी कालान्न भवति ॥

32. A locative-ending word when it does not denote time, preserves its original accent, when followed by सिद्ध, शुष्क, पक्व and बन्ध in a compound.

Thus सांकाश्यसिद्धः or सांकाश्यसिद्धः, काम्पिल्यसिद्धः or काम्पिल्यसिद्धः ॥ The words sâmkâśya and kâmpilya have acute on the final, and by Phiṭ Sûtra (III. 16) in the alternative the accent falls on the middle also. So also निधनशुष्कः, ऊर्कशुष्कः ॥ The word निधन is derived by क्यु affix added to नि-धाञ् and has acute on the middle ; the word ऊक is formed from अव् root by the affix कक्, and has acute on the final. So also भ्राष्ट्रपक्वः, कुम्भीपक्वः, कलशीपक्वः ॥ The words Kumbhî and Kalaśî are formed by ङीष् affix and have acute on the final ; the word भ्राष्ट्र is formed by ष्ट्रन् affix, and has acute on the beginning. So also चक्रबन्धः चारकबन्धः ॥ The word chakra has acute on the final, and châraka being formed by ण्वुल् has acute on the first.

Why do we say 'when not denoting time'? Observe पूर्वाह्णसिद्धः, अपराह्णसिद्धः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 41. The accent of the Locative Tatpurusha taught in VI. 2. 1 was debarrd by Kṛit-accent taught VI. 2. 144. The present sûtra debars this last rule regarding Kṛit accent, and re-ordains the Locative Tatpurusha accent when the Kṛit-words are सिद्ध &c.

परिप्रत्युपापा वर्ज्यमानाहोरात्रावयवेषु ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परि,प्रति, उप, अपाः, वर्ज्यमान, अहोरात्रावयवेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परि प्रति उप अप इत्येते पूर्वपदभूता वर्ज्यमानवाचिनि अहोरात्रावयव वाचिनि रात्र्यवयववाचिनि चोत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरा भवन्ति ।

33. The particles परि, प्रति, उप and अप preserve their accent before that word, which specifies an exclusion, or a portion of day and night, (in an Avyayîbhâva compound also).

Thus परित्रिगर्त्तं वृष्टो देवः "It rained all round (but not in) Trigarta". (See II. 1. 11 and 12). So also परिसौवीरम् परिसार्वसनि, परिपूर्वरात्रम ॥ So also प्रतिपूर्वाह्णम्, प्रत्यपराह्णम्, प्रत्यपररात्रम्, उपपूर्वाह्णम्, उपापराह्णम्, उपपूर्वरात्रम्, उपापररात्रम् ॥ अपत्रिगर्तं वृष्टो देवः, अपसौवीरम्, अपसार्वसेनी (II. 1. 11 and 12).

By Phiṭ Sûtras IV. 12, and 13 all Particles (Nipâta) have acute on the first syllable. So also upasargas with the exception of अभि ॥ Therefore परि &c, have acute on the first. In a Tatpurusha and Bahuvrîhi compounds, these words 'pari', 'prati' &c, as first members would have retained their accent by the rules already gone before; the present sûtra, therefore, extends the principle of the preservation of the accent to Avyayîbhâva compounds also. The prepositions अप and परि alone denote the limit exclusive or वर्जन, and it is therefore with these two prepositions only that the second member can denote the thing excluded, and not with प्रति and उप ॥ With these prepositions अप and परि, the second term if denoting a member of day or night, are also taken even as *excluded*, therefore no separate illustrations of those are given.

Why do we say 'before a word which is excluded, or is a part of a day and night'? Observe प्रत्यग्नि शलभाः पतन्ति ॥ In प्रतिवनम् "all round the forest, but not in it', the accent falls on the last by VI. 2. 178, which debars this general rule, as well as all special rules which might affect वन in a compound.

राजन्यबहुवचनद्वन्द्वेऽन्धकवृष्णिषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्य, बहु वचन, द्वन्द्वे, अन्धक, वृष्णिषु, (पूर्वपदप्रकृस्वरम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्यवाचिनां बहुवचनान्तानां यो द्वन्द्वो ऽन्धकवृष्णिषु वर्त्तते तत्र पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

34. The first member of a Dvandva compound, formed of names denoting the Kshatriya (warrior) clans in

the plural number, retains its original accent when the warrior belongs to the clan of Andhaka or Vṛishṇi.

Thus श्वाफल्कँचैत्रकाः, चैत्रकँरोधका, शिँनिवासुदेवाः ॥ The words Śvâphalka and Chaitraka are formed by अण् affix (IV. 1. 114) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). The word शिनि has acute on the first syllable, and does not change in denoting Patronymic. Why do we say 'in denoting a Warrior clan'? Observe द्वैप्यहैमायनाः ॥ Here द्वैप्य is derived from द्वीप by the affix यञ् (IV. 3. 10) = द्वीपे भवाः; हैमायनः = हैमेरपत्यं युवा ॥ These names belong to Andhaka and Vṛishṇi clans, but are not the warrior-names. The word राजन्य here means those Kshatriyas who belong to the family of annointed kings and warriors (अभिषिक्तवंश्याः); these (Dvaipya and Haimâyana) do not belong to any such family. Why do we say 'in the Plural number'? Observe संकर्षणवासुदेवौ ॥ Why do we say 'in a Dvandva compound'? Observe वृष्णीनां कुमाराः = वृष्णिकुमाराः ॥ Why do we say 'of Andhaka and Vṛishni clans'? Observe कुरुपञ्चालाः ॥

संख्या ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वसमासे संख्यावाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

35. The Numeral word, standing as the first member of a Dvandva compound, preserves its accent.

Thus एँकादश, द्वाँदश, त्रँयोदश or त्रयोँदश ॥ The word एक is derived from इण् by कन् affix (Uṇ III. 43) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). The त्रयस् is the substitute of त्रि (VI. 3. 48) and has acute on the final.

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासी ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि । आचार्य्योपसर्जनः, च, अन्तेवासी, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवासिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्रपूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

36. When words denoting scholars are named after their teachers and are compounded into a Dvandva, the first member retains its accent.

The word अन्तेवासी means 'a pupil' 'a boarding not a day scholar'. When the scholar is named by an epithet derived from the name of his teacher, that name is आचार्योपसर्जनः or teacher-derived name. Thus आपिशलँपाणिनीयाः, पाणिनीँय-रौढीयाः, रौढीँयकाशकृत्स्नाः ॥ The son of Apiśala is आपिशलि the name of a Teacher or founder of a school—an âchârya: formed by इञ् affix (IV. 1. 95). The science taught by him is called आपिशलम्, formed by adding अण् affix to आपिशलाः (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 11). The scholars who study the Apiśalam are also called आपिशलाः the affix denoting 'to study' is elided by (IV. 2. 59 and 64). Or the pupils of Apiśali will be also called Apiśalâḥ. Thus in both ways Apiśalâḥ is a scholar name derived from the name of a teacher. The word आचार्योपसर्जन qualifies the whole Dvandva compound and

not the first member only. That is, the whole compound in all its parts should denote scholars, whose names are derived from those of their teachers. Therefore not here पाणिनीय-देवदत्तौ where though the first is a teacher-derived name, the second is not. Why do we say "names derived from the teacher's"? Observe छान्दसवैयाकरणाः ॥ Why do we say "a Scholar"? Observe आपिशलपाणिनीये शास्त्रे ॥

कार्तकौजपादयश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कार्त्तकौजप, आदयः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कार्तकौजपादयो ये द्वन्द्वास्तेषु पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

37. Also in the Dvandvas कार्तकौजप &c, the first members retain their accent.

Those words of this list which end in a dual or plural affix have been so exhibited for the sake of distinctness. The following is a list of these words. 1. कार्त-कौजपौ (formed by अण् IV. 1. 114 in the sense of Patronymic, from कृत and कुजप these being Rishi names)॥ 2. सावर्णिमाण्डूकेयौ (sâvarni is formed by इञ् Patron. affix and माण्डूकेय by ढक् IV. 1. 119). 3. आवन्त्यश्मकाः The word Avanti is end-acute, to which is added thePatron affix ñyaṅ by IV. 1. 171, which being a Tadrâj is elided in the plural; अवन्तीनां निवासो जनपद = अवन्ति the quadruple significant अण् being elided.

4. पैलश्यापर्णेयाः(Paila is derived from Pîlâ the son of Pîlâ is Paila, the yuvan descendent of Paila will be formed by adding फिञ् IV. 1. 156, which is, however, elided by II. 4. 59.) The word Śyâparna belongs to Bidâdi class IV. 1. 104, the female descendant will be Śyâparnî, the yuvan descendant of her will be Śyâparneya. It is not necessary that the compound should be plural always We have पैलश्यापर्णेयौ also.

5. कपिश्यापर्णेयाः (Kapi has acute on the final. The son of Kapi will be formed by यञ् IV. 1. 107, which is however elided by II. 4. 64. This compound must, therefore, be always in the plural.

6. शैतिकाक्षपांचालेयाः (Śitikâksha is the name of a Rishi, his son will be Śaitikâksha by अण्, IV. 1. 114, the yuvan descendant of the latter will be formed by इञ् which is elided by II. 4. 58. Pâñchâla's female descendant is Pâñchâlî, her yuvan descendant is Pâñchâleya. The plural number here is not compulsory. We have शैतकाक्षपाञ्चालेयौ also.)

7. कटुकवाधूलेयाः or कटुकवार्चलेयाः (The son of Kaṭuka will be formed by इञ् IV. 1. 59, which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 66. The son of Varchalâ is Vârchaleya).

8. शाकलशुनकाः (The son of Śakala is Śâkalya, his pupils are Śâkalâḥ by अण् IV. 2. 111. The son of Śunak will be Śaunaka by अञ् IV. 1. 104, which will be elided in the Plural by II. 4. 64). Some read it as शकलसणकाः, where the इञ affix after Saṇaka is elided by II. 4. 66. So also शुनकधात्रेयः ॥

9. शणकबाभ्रवाः (the son of Babhru is Bâbhrava). 10. आर्चाभिमौद्गलाः (Archávinaḥ are those who study the work produced by Ṛichâva, the affix

णिनि being added by IV. 3. 104. Mudgala belongs to Kaṅvâdi class IV. 2. 111; Maudgalâḥ are pupils of the son of Mudgala). 11. कुन्तिसुराष्ट्राः. This a Dvandva of Kunti and Surâshṭra in the plural or of the country-names derived from them like Avanti. Kunti and Chinti have acute on the final. 12. चिन्तिसुराष्ट्राः as the last. 13. तण्डवतण्डाः (Both belong to Pachâdi class formed by अच् III. 1. 134, from तडि ताडने Bhvâdi 300, वतण्ड is formed from the same root with the prefix अव, the अ being elided, and both have acute on the final: and are enumerated in the Gargâdi list IV. 1. 105. In the plural the patronymic affix यञ् is elided by II. 4. 64. 14. गर्गवत्साः Here also यञ् affix is elided II. 4. 64. 15. आविमत्तकामबधाः or °विद्धाः ॥ Avimatta has acute on the first being formed by the नञ् particle. Both the words lose इञ् patronymic by II. 4. 66.

16. बाभ्रवशालङ्कायनाः The son of Babhru is Bâbhrava, and the son of Śalaṅku or Śalaṅka of नडादि IV. 1. 99 is Śâlaṅkâyana.

17. बाभ्रवदानच्युताः Dânchyuta takes इञ् in the patronymic which is elided by II. 4. 66.

18. कठकालापाः, Kaṭhâḥ are those who read the work of Kaṭha, the affix णिनि (IV. 3. 104) being elided by IV. 3. 107. Those who study the work of Kalâpin are Kâlâpâḥ, the अण् being added by IV. 3. 108, which required the इन् of kalâpin to be retained by VI. 4. 164 but by a Vârtika under VI. 4. 144 the इन् portion is elided before अण् ॥

19. कठकौथुमाः Those who study the work of Kuthumin are कौथुमाः formed by अण् IV. 1. 83 the इन् being elided before अण् by VI. 4. 144 Vârt already referred to above.

20. कौथुमलौकाक्षाः Those who study the work of Lokâksha are Laukâkshâḥ. Or the son of Lokâksha is Laukâkshi, the pupils of latter are Laukâkshâḥ.

21. स्त्रीकुमारम् ॥ Strî has accent on the final.

22. मौदपैप्पलादाः, the son of Muda is Maudi, the pupils of latter are Maudâḥ. So also Paippalâdâḥ.

23. मौदपैप्पलादाः The double reading of this word indicates that Rule VI. 1. 223 also applies.

24. वत्सजरत् or वत्सजरन्तः = वत्स + जरत् ॥ Vatsa has acute on the final.

25. So also सौश्रुतपार्थवाः, The pupils of Suśruta and Pṛithu are so called they take अण् IV. 1. 83. 26. जरामृत्यू, 27. याज्यानुवाक्ये Yâjya is formed by ण्यत्, added to यज, the ज is not changed to a Guttural by VII. 3. 66. It has svarita on the final by तित् accent (VI. 1. 185). Anuvâkya is derived from anu + vach + ण्यत् ॥

महान् व्रीह्यपराह्णगृष्टीष्वासजाबालभारभारतहैलिहिलरौरवप्रवृद्धेषु ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ महान्,व्रीहि, अपराह्ण, गृष्टि, इष्वास, जाबाल, भार, भारत, हैलिहिल, रौरव, प्रवृद्धेषु, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदमिति वर्त्तते, इन्द्रइति निवृत्तम् । महानित्येतत्पूर्वपदं व्रीहि अपराह्न, गृष्टि इष्वास जाबाल भार भारत हैलिहिल रौरव प्रवृद्ध इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

38. The word महत् (महा) retains its accent before the following : व्रीहि, अपराह्ण, गृष्टि, इष्वास, जाबाल, भार, भारत, हैलिहिल, रौरव, and प्रवृद्ध ॥

Thus महाव्रीहिः, महापराह्णः, महागृष्टिः, महेष्वासः, महाजाबालः, महाभारः, महाभारतः, महाहैलिहलः, महारौरवः, महाप्रवृद्धः ॥ The महत् has acute on the final. (Uṇ II. 84) On the पतिपदोक्त maxim already mentioned under VI. 2. 26, this accent will apply to that compound of महत् which it forms under rule II. 1. 61, for that is the particular rule of Karmadhâraya compounding relating to mahat (pratipadokta). This rule therefore, will not apply to Genitive Tatpurusha. Thus महतो व्रीहिः = महद्व्रीहिः which has accent on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Q. The word प्रवृद्ध is a Participle formed by क्त affix, and by rule VI. 2. 46, in a Karmadhâraya compound, the first member will retain its original accent. What is then the necessity of reading this word in this sûtra? Ans. That sûtra VI. 2 46 applies, cn the maxim of pradipadokta, to the special participles and nouns mentioned in II. 1. 59 and not to every participle and noun.

क्षुल्लकश्च वैश्वदेवे ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुल्लकः, च, वैश्वदेवे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुल्लक इत्येतत्पूर्वपदं महांश्च वैश्वदेवउत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

39. The words mahat and kshullaka retain their accent before the word Vaiśvadeva.

Thus महावैश्वदेवम्, and क्षुल्लकवैश्वदेवम् ॥ The word kshullaka is derived thus क्षुधं लाति = क्षुल्लः to which the Diminutive क (V. 3. 73 &c) is added : and the word has udâtta on the final.

उष्ट्रः सादिवाम्योः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उष्ट्रः, सादि, वाम्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्ट्रशब्दः पूर्वपदं सादिवाम्योरुत्तरपदयोःप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

40. The word 'ushṭra' retains its accent before 'sâdi' and 'vâmi'.

Thus उष्ट्रसादि and उष्ट्रवामि ॥ The word उष्ट्र is derived from उष् by ष्ट्रन् affix (Uṇ IV. 162) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). This is either a Karmadhâraya or a Genitive compound. In some texts the above examples are given with a visarga in the masculine, and not Neuter.

गौः सादसादिसारथिषु ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गौः, साद, सादि, सारथिषु, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दः पूर्वपदं साद सादि सारथि इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

41. The word 'गो' retains its accent before 'sâda', 'sâdi', and 'sârathi'.

Thus गोःसादः or गां सादयति = गोॅसादः, गोः सादिः = गोॅसादिः, and गोॅसारथिः ॥ साद is formed from सद् with the affix घञ् and forms a Genitive compound (गोः सादः). Or from the causative verb सादयति, we get गोसादः by adding अण् (III. 9. 1) गोसादी is formed by णिनि from the same causative root. The Krit-accent is debarred in the case of साद and सादिन्, the Samâsa-accent VI. 1. 223 in the case of सारथि ॥

कुरुगार्हपतरिक्तगुर्वसूतजरत्यश्लीलदृढरूपा पारेवडबा तैतिलकद्रूः पण्यकम्बलो दासीभाराणां च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरुगार्हपत, रिक्तगुरु, असूतजरती, अश्लीलदृढरूपा, पारेवडबा, तैतिलकद्रूः, पण्यकम्बलः, दासीभाराणाम्, च, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुरुगार्हपत रिक्तगुरु असूतजरती अश्लीलदृढरूपा पारेवडबा तैतिलकद्रू पण्यकम्बल इत्येते समासास्तेषां दासीभारादीनां च पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कुरुवृज्योर्गार्हपतइति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ संज्ञायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

42. The first member retains its accent in the following :—'Kuru-gârhapata', 'Rikta-guru', 'Asûta-jaratî', 'Aślîla-dṛiḍha-rûpâ', 'Pâre-vaḍabâ', 'Taitila-kadrûḥ', 'Paṇya-kambalaḥ' and 'Dâsî-bhâra &c'.

The first seven words are compounds, the first two of these are exhibited without any case-ending, the renaining five are in nom. Singular. Thus कुॅरुगार्हपतम् (कुरूणां गार्हपत, Kuru is formed by कु affix added to कृ Uṇ I. 24,) and has acute on the final.

Vârt:—So also वृॅजिगार्हपतम्, the word Vṛiji has acute accent on the first.

So also रिक्तो गुरुः = रिॅक्तगुरुः or रिक्तॅगुरुः for rikta has acute either on the first or on the second (VI. 1. 208). So also असूता जरती = अॅसूतजरती, अश्लीलादृढरूपा = अॅश्लील दृढरूपा ॥ Asûtâ and aslîlâ being formed by नञ् particle have acute on the first: (VI. 2. 2). That which has श्री is called श्लील, the affix लच् being added by its belonging to Sidhmâdi class, and र changed to ल by its belonging to kapilakâdi class. So also पारेॅवडबा, this is = पारेवडबेव ॥ This is a samâsa with the force of इव, and there is elision of the case ending. The word पार belongs to Ghṛitâdi class, and has acute on the final. तैतिलानां कद्रूः = तैतिलॅकद्रूः, the son or pupil of Titilin is Taitila formed by अण् affix. पण्यकम्बलः, panya ends in यत् and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 213).

Vârt:—पॅण्यकम्बलः has acute on the first only when it is a name. Otherwise in पणितव्ये कम्बले compound, the accent will be on the final by the general rule VI. 1. 223. The word पण्य being frrmed by यत् affix (III. 1. 101) is acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 213). The word पण्यकम्बलः is as Name when it means the market-blanket i. e. a blanket of a well known determinate size

and fixed price, which is generally kept for sale by the blanket-sellers. But when the compound means a saleable blanket, it takes the samasa accent (VI. 1. 223). If it be objected what is the use this Vartika, for the word पण्य being formed by a kritya affix, will retain its accent in the Tatpurusha, by VI. 2. 2, we reply that the कृत्य used in VI. 2. 2 relates to pratipadokta kritya compounds such as ordained by कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या II. 1. 68, while here the compound is by विशेषणं विशेष्येण II. 1. 51 and is a general compound. So also दास्याभारः = दासीभारः ॥ The words belonging to Dâsi bhârâdi class are all those Tatpurusha compound words, not governed by any of the rules of accent, in which it is desired that the first member should retain its accent. Some of them are देवहूतिः, देवसूतिः, देववीतिः, वसुनीतिः ॥ Vasu has acute on the first being formed by a नित् affix Un I. 9 10). ओषधिः = ओषोधीयतेऽस्याम्, formed by कि affix (III. 3. 93), ओष being formed by घञ् has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). चन्द्रमाः is formed by असि affix added to the root माङ् माने preceded by the upapada चन्द्र as, चन्द्र + मा + अस् = चन्द्रमस्, the affix being treated as ङित् (Uṇ IV. 228), and चन्द्र is formed by रक affix (Uṇ II. 13) and has acute on the final.

चतुर्थी तदर्थे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थी, तदर्थे, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं तदर्थउत्तरपदे तदभिधेयार्थे यत्तद्वाचिन्युत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । तदिति चतुर्थ्यन्तस्यार्थः परामृश्यते ।

43. A word in the Dative case as the first member retains its accent, when the second member expresses that which is suited to become the former.

Thus यूपदारु, कुण्डलहिरण्यम् ॥ The word यूप has accent on the first syllable, as it is formed by प (Uṇ III. 27) treated as a नित् (Uṇ III. 26). The word कुण्डल is formed by कल affix which is treated as चित् (Uṇ. I. 108) and has acute on the final. So also रथदारु, वल्लीहिरण्यम् ॥ Ratha is first-acute formed by kthan affix (Uṇ II. 2). Vallî has acute on the final formed by ङीष् affix. (IV. 1. 41) Why do we say 'it being suited to the first'? Observe कुबेरबलिः ॥ This accent applies when the second member denoting the material is modified into the first by workmanship. The composition takes place by II. 1. 36.

अर्थे ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थे, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर्थीति वर्तते । अर्थशब्दउत्तरपदे चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

44. Before the word 'artha', the first member in the Dative retains its accent.

Thus मात्रे इदं = मात्रर्थम्, देवतार्थम्, अतिथ्यर्थम् ॥ The words मातृ and पितृ are finally acute as taught so in Uṇâdi sûtra (Uṇ II. 95): देवता being formed by a लित् affix (V. 4. 27) has acute on the middle; अतिथि is formed by इथिन् affix and has acute on the first.

The difference between तदर्थ and अर्थ is that the former, like दारु 'wood', हिरण्य 'gold', has not inherent in it the sense of adaptibility, while अर्थ means 'adapted'. Some say that the making of two sûtras, one with तदर्थ and the other with अर्थ indicates, that the former rule is applicable only to that compound where the material itself is changed into the substance of the first. Therefore the rule does not apply to अश्वघासः, श्वश्रूसुरम् &c, though 'grass be suited for the horse' &c.

क्तेच ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्ते, च, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तान्ते चोत्तरपदे चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

45. The first member in the Dative case retains its accent before a Past Participle in क्त ॥

Thus गोहितम्, मनुष्यहितम्, अश्वाहितम्, गोरक्षितम्, अश्वरक्षितम्, तापसरक्षितम् वनम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 36. The compound गोरक्षितं means गोभ्योरक्षितं and is a sampradana Dative.

कर्मधारये ऽनिष्ठा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मधारये, अनिष्ठा, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारये समासे क्तान्तउत्तरपदे ऽनिष्ठान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

46. Before a Past Participle in 'kta', the first member, when it itselfis not a Past Participle, retains its original accent in a Karmadhâraya compound.

This rule is confined to the Past Participles and the Nouns specifically mentioned in II. 1. 59; on the maxim of pratipadokta &c. Thus श्रेणिकृताः, पूगकृताः, ऊककृताः, निधनकृताः ॥ The word श्रेणि has acute on the first as it is formed by the affix नि which is considered नित् (Uṇ IV. 51). The word पूग is end-acute as it is formed by the affix गक् (Uṇ I. 124). The word ऊक is also end-acute (VI. 2. 32°). The word निधन has acute on the middle. Why do we say in a Karmadhâraya compound? Observe श्रेण्या कृतं = श्रेनिकृतम् ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a non-nishṭhâ word?' Observe कृताकृतम् ॥ Here the compounding is by II. 1. 60.

अहीने द्वितीया ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहीने, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहीनवाचिनि समासे क्तान्तउत्तरपदे द्वितीयान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वितीयानुपसर्गइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. Before a Past Participle in 'kta', a word ending in the Accusative case retains its accent, when it does not mean a separation.

Thus कष्टश्रितः, त्रिशकलपतितः, ग्रामगतः ॥ Kashṭa has acute on the end, triśakala is a Bahuvrîhi compound (trîṇi śakalâni asya), and consequently acute on the first : grâma has acute on the first as it is formed by the नित् affix

मन् added to अस्, the final being replaced by आ (Uṇ I. 143) ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning separation'? Observe कान्तारातीतः, योजनातीतः, because one has taken himself beyond kântâra and yojana.

Vârt:—This rule does not apply when the Past Participle has an upasarga attached; as सुखप्राप्तः, दुःखप्राप्तः सुखापन्नः, दुःखापन्नः (VI. 4. 144). This is an exception to rule VI. 2. 144.

तृतीया कर्मणि ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, कर्मणि, (पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मवाचिनि क्तान्तउत्तरपदे तृतीयान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

48. A word ending in an Instrumental case retains its accent before the Past Participle in 'kta', when it has a Passive meaning.

Thus अहिहतः or अहिहतः रुद्रहतः, वज्रहतः, महाराजहतः, नखनिर्भिन्ना, दात्रलूना ॥ The word 'ahi' is derived from हन् with the proposition आ which is shortened, and the affix इण् (Uṇ IV. 138), and has acute on the final, according to others the acute is on the first: Rudra is formed by रक् affix (Uṇ II. 22) added to the causative रोदि; Mahârâja is formed by the Samâsanta affix टच्; nakha is formed by ख affix added to नह् (Uṇ V. 23) or it may be a Bahuvrîhi नास्य खमस्ति = नखः, formed by अच् (V. 4. 121), and has acute on the final: Dâtra is formed by ष्ट्रन् (III. 2. 182). Why do we say when having a Passive signification? Observe रथेन यातः = रथयातः, the 'kta' is added to a verb of motion with an Active significance.

गतिरनन्तरः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति, अनन्तरः (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्ते कर्मणीति वर्त्तते । कर्मवाचिनि क्तान्तउत्तरपदे गतिरनन्तरः पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

49. A word called Gati (I. 4. 60) when standing immediately before a Participle in 'kta' having a Passive significance, retains its accent.

Thus प्रकृतः, प्रहृतः ॥ Here one of the following rules would have applied otherwise, namely, either (1) the Samasa end-acute IV. 1. 223 (2) or the Indeclinable first member to retain its accent VI. 2. 2, (3) or the end acute by VI. 2. 139 and 144. The present sûtra debars all these. Why do we say 'immediately?' Observe अभ्युद्धृतः, समुद्धृतः, समुदाहृतः ॥ Where the distant Gati words अभि and सम् do not preserve their accent, but the immediately preceding Gati, as उत् does retain its accent, though it is not the first member of the compound word. Compare also VIII. 2. 70. But in दूरात् + आगतः (âgata being governed by this rule) we have दूरादागतः, (II. 1. 39 and VI. 3. 2) where VI. 2. 144 has its scope, though it had not its scope in अभि + उद्धृतः = अभ्युद्धृतः ॥ In the former case this maxim applies कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणं ॥ "A Kṛit affix denotes whenever it is employed, a word-form which begins with that to which that

Kṛit affix has been added, and which ends with the Kṛit affix, but moreover should a Gati or a noun such as denotes a case-relation have been prefixed to that word-form, then the Kṛit affix must denote the same word-form together with the Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it". In the second example, this maxim is not applied, because scope should be given to the word अनन्तर in this aphorism. When the Participle has not a Passive significance, the rule does not apply because the word कर्मणि is understood here also; as, प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः ॥ This sûtra debars VI. 2. 144.

तादौ च निति कृत्यतौ ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तादौ, च, निति, कृति, अ-तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादौ च तुशब्दवर्जिते निति कृति परतो गतिरनन्तरः प्रकृतिस्वरो भवति ॥

50. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before (a word formed by) a Kṛit-affix beginning with त्, which has an indicatory न्, but not before तु ॥

Thus प्रकर्ता (with तृन्) प्रकर्तुम् (with तुमुन्), प्रकृतिः (with क्तिन्) ॥ This sûtra debars the Kṛit-affix accent (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say "before an affix beginning with त्"? Observe प्रजल्पाकः formed with the affix षाकन् (III. 2. 155), and the Gati प्र, the accent being governed by VI. 2. 139. Why do we say 'which is नित्'? Observe प्रकर्ता formed by तृच् affix. When a Kṛit-affix takes the augment इट्, it does not lose its character of beginning with त् on the Vartika कृदुपदेशो वा ताद्यर्थमिडर्थम् ॥ Thus प्रलपिता, प्रलपितुम् ॥ Why do we say "but not before तु"? Observe आगन्तुः with the Uṇâdi affix तुन् ॥

तवै चान्तश्च युगपत् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तवै, च, अन्तः, च, युगपत्, (उदात्तः प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवैप्रत्ययस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति गतिश्चानन्तरः प्रकृतिस्वर इति एतदुभयं युगपद्भवति ॥

51. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before an Infinitive in तवै (III. 4. 14) but whereby simultaneously the final has the acute as well.

Thus अन्वेतवै, परिस्तरितवै, परिपातवै, अभिचरितवै ॥ All upasargas have acute on the first except 'abhi': which therefore has acute on the final. (Phit Su IV. 13) which declares उपसर्गा आद्युदात्ता अभिवर्जम् ॥ This debars कृत् accent (VI. 2. 139) and is an exception to the rule that in a single word, a single syllable only has acute.

अनिगन्तोऽञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनिगन्तः, अञ्चतौ, वप्रत्यये, (प्रकृतिस्वरः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिगन्तो गतिः प्रकृतिस्वरो भवत्यञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये परतः ॥

52. An immediately preceding Gati not ending in इ or उ, retains its original accent before अञ्च् when an affix having a व् follows.

Thus प्राङ्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः or प्राङ्, प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्चः ॥ The accent is acute and optionally svarita by VIII. 2. 6. So also पराङ्, पराञ्चौ, पराञ्चः, पराचः, पराचा ॥ But with प्रति which ends in इ, we have प्रत्यङ्, प्रत्यञ्चौ, प्रत्यञ्चः here by VI. 2. 139 the second member retains its original accent. Why do we say 'before an affix व्'? Observe उदञ्चनः ॥ When the nasal of 'añch' is elided, then rule VI. 1. 222 presents itself; but that rule is superseded when a Gati not ending in इ or उ precedes, because the present rule is subsequent. Thus पराचः and पराचाः ॥ In some texts, the reading is अञ्चतावप्रत्यये ॥ The affix व् is like क्विप् &c, (VI. 1. 67).

न्यधी च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि, अधी, च, (प्रकृतिस्वरौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि अधि इत्येतौ चाञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये परतः प्रकृतिस्वरौ भवतः ॥

53. The Gatis नि and अधि, however, retain their original accent before 'añch' followed by a व् affix.

Thus न्यङ्, न्यञ्चौ, न्यञ्चः ॥ The अ becomes svarita by VIII. 2. 4. So also अध्यङ्, अध्यञ्चौ, अध्यञ्चः, अधीचः, अधीचः, नीचः, नीचा ॥

ईषदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्, अन्यतरस्या, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदित्येतत्पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

54. The word ईषत् when first member of a compound may optionally preserve its original accent.

Thus ईषत्कडारः or ईषत्कडारः, ईषत्पिङ्गलः or ईषत्पिङ्गलः ॥ ईषत् has acute on the final. But in ईषद्भेदः &c, the Krit-accent will necessarily take place (VI. 2. 139); no option being allowed; because the compounds to which the present rule applies are, on the maxim of pratipadokta, those formed by ईषत् with non-Krit words under II. 2, 7.

हिरण्यपरिमाणं धने ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिरण्य-परिमाणम्, धने, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिरण्यपरिमाणवाचि पूर्वपदं धनशब्दउत्तरपदे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

55. The first member, denoting the quantity of gold, retains optionally its original accent, before the word धन ॥

Thus द्विसुवर्णधनम् or द्विसुवर्णधनम् ॥ This is a Karmadhâraya compound द्वौसुवर्णौ परिमाणमस्य = द्विसुवर्णं, तदेव धनम् ॥ It may also be treated as a Bahuvrîhi compound, then the accent will be of that compound, as द्विसुवर्णधनः or द्विसुवर्णधनः ॥ Why do we say 'gold'? Observe प्रस्थधनम् ॥ Why do we say 'quantity'? Observe कांचनधनम् ॥ Why do we say 'धन'? Observe निष्कमाला ॥

प्रथमोऽचिरोपसंपत्तौ ॥५६॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमः,अचिरः,उपसम्पत्तौ (प्रकृतिस्वरम्)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमशब्दः पूर्वपदमचिरोपसंपत्तौ गम्यमानायामन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । अचिरोपसंपत्तिर-चिरोपश्लेषोऽभिनवत्वम् ॥

56. The word **प्रथम** when standing first in a compound, retains optionally its original accent when meaning 'a novice'.

The word अचिरोपसंपत्ति = अचिरोपश्लेष or अभिनवत्वम् ॥ Thus प्रथमवैयाकरणः or प्रथमवैयाकरणः = संप्रतिव्याकरणमध्येतुं प्रवृत्तः 'one who has recently commenced to study Grammar'. The word प्रथम is derived from प्रथ by अमच् (Uṇ V. 68) and by चित् accent the acute falls on the last. Why do we say when meaning 'a Novice?' Observe प्रथमवैयाकरणः (वैयाकरणानामाद्यो मुख्यो वा यः सः) 'the first Grammarian or a Grammarian of the first rank'. It will *always* have acute on the final.

कतरकतमौ कर्मधारये ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कतर-कतमौ, कर्मधारये, प्रकृतिस्वरम्॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कतरशब्दः कतमशब्दश्च पूर्वपदं कर्मधारये समासे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

57. The words **कतर** and **कतम** standing as the first member of a compound retain optionally their original accent in a Karmadhâraya.

Thus कतरकठः or कतरकठः, कतमकठः or कतमकठः ॥ The word Karmadhâraya is used for the sake of the next sûtra, this sûtra could have done without it, as 'katara' and 'katama' by the maxim of pratipadokta, form only Karmadhâraya compound by II. 1. 63.

आर्यो ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः ॥५८॥ पदानि ॥ आर्यः, ब्राह्मण-कुमारयोः, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आर्यशब्दः पूर्वपदं ब्राह्मणकुमारशब्दयोरुत्तरपदयोः कर्मधारये समासे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

58. The word **आर्य** optionally retains its original accent in a Karmadhâraya, before the words **ब्राह्मण** and **कुमार** ॥

Thus आर्यब्राह्मणः or आर्यब्राह्मणः, आर्यकुमारः or आर्यकुमारः ॥ The word आर्य is formed by ण्यत् affix and has svarita on the final. Why do we say 'Arya'? Observe परमब्राह्मणः, परमकुमारः ॥ Why do we say before 'Brâhmaṇa' and 'Kumâra'? Observe आर्यक्षत्रियः ॥ Why 'Karmadhâraya?' Observe आर्यस्य ब्राह्मणः = आर्यब्राह्मणः ॥ According to the Accentuated Text the accent is आर्य (Pro. Bohtlingk).

राजा च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजा, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ राजा च पूर्वपदं ब्राह्मणकुमारयोरुत्तरपदयोः कर्मधारये समासे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

59. The word **राजन्** retains optionally its accent before the words 'Brâhmaṇa' and 'Kumâra', in a Karmadhâraya.

Thus राँजब्राह्मणः or राजब्राह्मणः, राँजकुमारः or राजकुमारः ॥ The word राजन् is formed by the affix कनिन् added to राज् (Uṇ I. 156). But राज्ञो ब्राह्मण = राजब्राह्मणः where the compound is not Karmadhâraya. The making of this a separate aphorism is for the purpose of preventing the yathâsankhya rule and also for the sake of the subsequent sûtra into which the anuvritti of राजन् runs and not of आर्य ॥

षष्ठी प्रत्येनसि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, प्रत्येनसि, (अन्यतरस्याम् राजा प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजेति वर्त्तते, ऽन्यतरस्यामिति च । षष्ठ्यन्तो राजशब्दः पूर्वपद प्रत्येनस्युत्तरे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

60. The word 'râjan' ending in the Genitive case optionally retains its accent before the word प्रत्येनस् ॥

The words राजन् and अन्यतरस्याम् are understood here also. Thus राँज्ञः प्रत्येनाः or राज्ञः प्रत्येनाः ॥ The sign of the Genitive is not elided by VI.3. 21. When आक्रोश is not meant we have, राँजप्रत्येनाः or राजप्रत्येनाः ॥ Why do we say 'ending in the Genitive'? Observe राजा चासौ प्रत्येनाश्च = राजप्रत्येनाः no option.

क्ते नित्यार्थे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्ते, नित्यार्थे (पूर्वपदम् अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तान्तउत्तरपदे नित्यार्थे समासे पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

61. A word having the sense of 'always', retains optionally its accent before a Past Participle in क्त ॥

Thus निँत्यप्रहसितः or नित्यप्रहसितः, सततँप्रहसितः or सततप्रहसितः ॥ These are Accusative compounds formed under Rule II. 1. 28. नित्य is formed by त्यप् affix added to the upasarga नि (IV. 2. 104 Vârt); and has acute on the first, the upasarga retaining its accent, the affix being anudâtta (III. 1. 4). The word सतत being formed by क्त affix with the force of भावः, has acute on final by VI. 2. 144. If it be considered to have been formed by कर्मणि क्त, then the accent will be on the beginning by VI. 2. 49. Why do we say when the first term means 'always'? Observe मुहूर्त्तप्रहासितः ॥ In the case of नित्यप्रहसितः &c the samâsa accent VI. 1. 223 was first set aside by the Accusative Tatpurusha accent VI. 2, 2. this in its turn was set aside by क्त accent VI. 2. 144, which is again debarred by the present.

ग्रामः शिल्पिनि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामः, शिल्पिनि, (अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दः पूर्वपदं शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे ऽन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

62. The word ग्राम when first member of a compound, optionally retains its accent before a word denoting "a professional man or artisan".

Thus ग्रामनापितः or ग्रामनापितः, ग्रामकुलालः or ग्रामकुलालः ॥ The word ग्राम has acute on the first. Why do we say "ग्राम"? Observe परमनापितः ॥ Why do we say 'a śilpî a professional workman'? Observe ग्रामरथ्या; where there is no option.

राजा च प्रशंसायाम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजा, च, प्रशंसायाम्, (अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजशब्दः पूर्वपदं शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे प्रशंसायां गम्यमानाया मन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

63. The word राजन् followed by a profession-denoting noun, optionally retains its accent, when praise is to be expressed.

Thus राजनापितः or राजनापितः, राजकुलालः or राजकुलालः "A royal barber i. e. a skillful barber or one fit to serve the king even" &c. It may be either a Karmadhâraya or a Genitive compound. Why do we say 'राजन्'? Observe परमनापितः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting praise'? Observe राजनापितः 'king's barber'. Why do we say 'a professional man'? Observe राजहस्ती 'a royal elephant'.

आदिरुदात्तः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, उदात्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरुदात्त इत्येतदधिकृतमित उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्यादिरुदात्तो भवतीत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

64. In the following up to VI. 2. 91 inclusive the phrase "the first syllable in—(the word standing in the Nominative) has the acute", is to be always supplied.

This is an adhikâra aphorism. The first syllable of the पूर्वपद will get the acute in the following aphorisms. In short, the phrase 'âdir udâtta' should be supplied to complete the sense of the subsequent sûtras. The very next sûtra illustrates it. That sûtra literally means "a word in the Locative case or a word denoting the name of the receiver of a tax or tribute, standing before a word denoting that which is lawful, but not before हरण". To complete the sense we must supply the words "has acute on the first syllable". Thus स्तूपेशाणः, मुकुटे कार्षापणम्, याज्ञिकाश्वः, वैयाकरणहस्ती ॥ The word आदि 'the first syllable' is understood upto VI. 2. 91, the word उदात्त has longer stretch: it governs upto VI. 2. 137.

सप्तमीहारिणौ धर्म्येऽहरणे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, हारिणौ, धर्म्ये, अहरणे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं हारिवाचि च पूर्वपदं धर्म्यवाचिनि हरणशब्दादन्यास्मिन्नुत्तरपदे आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

65. The first member of a compound, if in the Locative case or denoting the name of the Receiver of a tax, has acute on the first syllable, when the second member is a word denoting 'what is lawful', but not when it is हरण ॥

The word हारिण् means 'appropriates the dues or taxes': and धर्म्यम् means 'the due or tax which has been determined by the custom or usage, of the country, town, sect or family. that which one is lawfully entitled to get'. The word धर्म्य is formed by यत् under IV. 4. 91 and 92 and has the sense of both. Of Locative words we have the following examples: —स्तुपे-शाणः मुकुटे-कार्षापणम्, हले-द्विपदिका, हले-त्रिपदिका, दृषदि-माषकः ॥ These compounds are formed under II. 1. 44, and the sign of the Locative is not elided by VI. 3. 9 and 10. With the name of a due-receiver हारी we have the following:—याज्ञिकाश्वः 'the horse which is the customary due of the sacrificer'. So also वैयाकरणहस्ती, मातुलाश्वः, पितृव्यगवः ॥ In some places the established usage is to give a शाण coin in every sacred Tope &c, or to give a horse to a sacrificer &c. Why do we say 'what is lawful'? Observe स्तम्बेरमैः, कर्मकर वर्द्धितकैः वर्द्धितकौ नाम मूले स्थूलोग्रे सूक्ष्म ओदन पिण्डः, स कर्मकराय दीयते, अन्यथा कर्म न कुर्यादिति, न स्वयं धर्मः ॥ Why do we say "but not before हरण"? Observe वाडबहरणम् 'that which is given to a mare'. हरण is that customary food which is given to a mare after she has been covored, in order to strengthen her. The word हरण is a Kṛit-formed word, its exclusion here indicates that other Kṛit-formed words however are governed by this rule when preceded by a हारी denoting word; and thus this sûtra supersedes the Kṛit accent enjoined by VI. 2. 139, so far. Thus वाडबहार्यः has acute on the first by this rule, the subsequent VI. 2. 139 not applying.

युक्ते च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ युक्ते, च, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युक्तवाचिनि च समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ।

66. The first member of a compound has acute on the first syllable, when the second member denotes that by whom the things denoted by the first are regulated or kept in order.

The word युक्तः means 'he who is prompt in the discharge of his appointed duty' i. e. the person appointed to look after. Thus गोबल्लवः 'a cowherd looking after cow': अश्वबल्लवः, गोमणिन्द्रः, अश्वमणिन्द्रः, गोसंख्यः, अश्वसंख्यः ॥ All these word बल्लवः, माणिन्द्रः, सख्यः &c mean पालकः 'the protector &c.

विभाषाऽध्यक्षे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अध्यक्षे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्यक्षशब्दउत्तरपदे विभाषा पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

67. The acute is optionally on the first syllable when the word अध्यक्ष follows.

Thus गवाध्यक्षः or गवाध्यक्षः 'a superintendent of cows': अश्वाध्यक्षः or अश्वाध्यक्षः ॥

पापं च शिल्पिनि ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पापम्, च, शिल्पिनि, (विभाषा)(आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पापशब्दः शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे विभाषाऽऽद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

68. The word **पाप** has optionally acute on the first syllable when followed by a word denoting a professional man.

Thus पाँपनापितः or पापनापितः, पाँपकुलालः or पापकुलालः ॥ This rule applies to the pratipadokta samâsa of पाप in the sense of censure as taught in II. 1. 54, when it is an appositional compound; and not when it forms a Genitive compound. Thus पापस्यनापितः = पापनापितः ॥

गोत्रान्तेवासिमाणवब्राह्मणेषु क्षेपे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र, अन्तेवासि, माणव, ब्राह्मणेषु, क्षेपे, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रवाचिन्यन्तेवासिवाचिनि चोत्तरपदे माणवब्राह्मणयोश्च क्षेपवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तम् भवति ॥

69, The first syllable of the first member of a compound has the acute accent before a Patronymic name or a scholar-name, as well as before **माणव** and **ब्राह्मण**, when a reproach is meant.

Thus जँघावात्स्यः = यो जंघादानं ददान्यहमिति वात्स्यः, संपद्यते सः; यत्र श्राद्धादौ वात्स्यानामेव पादप्रक्षालनं क्रियते, तत्रावात्स्यः सन् वात्स्योऽहमिति ब्रूते तल्लाभाय सः ॥ भार्यासौश्रुतः 'a descendant of Suśruta under the petticoat government of his wife'. The compounding takes place by the analogy of शाकपार्थिवः ॥ वैशाब्राह्मकृतेयः (Brahmakrita belongs to Subhrâdi class). The above are examples of Gotra words. Now with scholar names. कुँमारीदाक्षाः 'the pupils of Daksha for the sake of marriage i. e. who study the work of Daksha or make themselves the pupils of Daksha for the sake of girls'. कँम्बलचारायणीयाः, घृँतरौढीयाः, and ओँदनपाणिनीयाः &c. भिँक्षामाणवः = भिक्षांलप्स्येऽहमिति माणवो भवति ॥ दाँसीब्राह्मणः, वृँषली ब्राह्मणः, भँयब्राह्मणः = यो भयेन ब्राह्मणः संपद्यते ॥ Compounding by II. 1. 4 where no other rule applies. Why do we say 'when followed by a Gotra word?' Observe दासीश्रोत्रियः ॥ Why do we say 'when reproach is meant?' Observe महाब्राह्मणः ॥

अङ्गानि मैरेये ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गानि, मैरेये, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मैरेयशब्दउत्तरपदे तदङ्गवाचीनि पूर्वपदान्याद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

70. The first syllable of the word preceding **मैरेय**, gets the acute, when it denotes the ingredient of the same.

Thus गुँडमैरेयः 'the wine maireya prepared from treacle or molasses'. मँधुमैरेयः 'the maireya prepared from honey'. Why do we say when denoting 'an ingredient?' Observe परममैरेयः ॥ Why do we say "before मैरेय?" Observe पुष्पासवः ॥ Every sort of spirituous liquor except सुरा is called मैरेय ॥

भक्ताख्यास्तदर्थेषु ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्ताख्याः, तदर्थेषु, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तमन्नं तदाख्यास्तद्वाचिनः शब्दास्तदर्थेषूत्तरपदेषु आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

71. A word denoting food gets the acute on the first syllable, when standing before a word which denotes a repository suited to contain that.

Thus भि॑क्षाबासः, भ॑क्तकंसः, भ्रा॑णाकंसः, भा॑जीकंसः ॥ The words like भिक्षा, भक्त &c, are names of food. Why do we say 'when denoting the name of food'? Observe समाशशाल॑र्यः (the word समाश = समशनं is the name of an 'action' and not of a 'substance'). Why do we say 'tadartheshu suited to contain that'? Observe भिक्षा॑प्रियः. which is a Bahuvrîhi, and the first member gets acute on the final.

गोबिडालसिंहसैन्धवेषूपमाने ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो, बिडाल, सिंह, सैन्धवेषु, उपमाने, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवादिषूपमानवाचिषूत्तरपदेषु पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

72. A word denoting the object of comparison gets the acute on the first syllable when standing before **गो**, **बिडाल**, **सिंह**, and **सैन्धव** ॥

Thus धा॑न्यगवः = धान्यं गौरिव ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 56, the words गो &c, being considered to belong to Vyâghrâdi class, which is an Akṛitigana. The meaning of the compound must be given according to usage and appropriateness. Thus धान्यगवः means गवाकृत्याऽवस्थितं धान्यं ॥ So also हि॑रण्यगवः, भि॑क्षाबिडालः, ब्रा॑ह्मणबिडालः, तृ॑णसिंहः, का॑ष्ठसिंहः, स॑क्तुसैन्धवः, पा॑नसैन्धवः ॥ Why do we say "when denoting the object of comparision"? Observe परमसिंहः ॥

अके जीविकार्थे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अके, जीविकार्थे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकप्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे जीविकार्थवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

73. The first member of a compound has the acute on the first syllable when the second member is a word ending in the affix **अक**, and the compound expresses a calling by which one gets his living.

Thus द॑न्तलेखकः, न॑खलेखकः, अ॑वस्करशोधकः, र॑मणीयकारकः = दन्तलेखनादिभिर्येषां जीविका ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say when meaning 'means of living'? Observe इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि ॥ All affixes which ultimately become अक by taking substitutes, are called अक affixes. Thus ण्वुल्, वुन् &c are अक affixes (VII. 1. 1). Why do we say "ending in the affix अक"? Observe रमणीयकर्त्ता ॥ Here the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17, and the affix तृच् is added in the sense of sport and not of livelihood.

प्राचां क्रीडायाम् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, क्रीडायाम्, (आद्युदात्तम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्देशवर्त्तिनां या क्रीडा तद्वाचिनि समासे ऽकप्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

74. A compound the second member of which is a word ending in अक affix, and which denotes the sport of the Eastern people, gets the the acute accent on the first syllable.

Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका, वीरणपुष्पप्रचायिका, शालभञ्जिका, तालभञ्जिका ॥ These are formed by ण्वुल् affix (III. 3. 109), and the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say 'of the Eastern Folk'? Observe जीवपुत्रप्रचायिका, which is a sport of the Western People. Why do we say 'when denoting a sport'? Observe तवपुष्पप्रचायिका 'thy turn for &c,' which is formed by ण्वुच् (III. 3. 111) and denotes 'rotation or turn'.

अणि नियुक्ते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणि, नियुक्ते, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणन्तउत्तरपदे नियुक्तवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

75. A compound, the second member of which is a word ending in the Kṛit-affix अण्, and which denotes a functionary, gets the acute on the first syllable.

Thus छत्रधारः, तूणीधारः, कमण्डलुग्राहः, भृङ्गारधारः ॥ Why do we say when meaning 'a functionary'? Observe काण्डलावः, शरलावः ॥

शिल्पिनि चाकृञः ॥ ७६ ॥ शिल्पिनि, च, अकृञः, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिल्पिवाचिनि समासे ऽणन्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति स चेदण् कृञो न भवति ॥

76. And when such a compound ending in अण् affix denotes the name of a professional man, but not when the second term is कार (derived from कृञ्), the acute is on the first syllable of the first word.

Here also the second term ends in अण् affix. Thus तन्तुवायः, तुन्नवायः, वालवायः ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'a work-man or professional person'? Observe काण्डलावः, शरलावः ॥ Why do we say 'but not when the affix अण् comes after कृ'? Observe कुम्भकारः, अयस्कारः ॥

संज्ञायां च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, च, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये ऽणन्तउत्तरपदे ऽकृञः पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

77. Also when such an upapada compound ending in अण् affix denotes a Name, the acute falls on the first syllable: but not when the second term is कार ॥

Thus तन्तुवायः 'a kind of insect, spider'. वालवायः 'the hill Vâlavâya'. But not so अण् with कृ; as रथकारः 'the name of a Brâhmaṇa caste'.

गोतान्तियवं पाले ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो, तान्ति, यवम्, पाले, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गो तान्ति यव इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि पालशब्दउत्तरपदे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

78. The words गो, तन्ति and यव get the acute on the first syllable when followed by पाल ॥

Thus गोपालः, तन्तिपालः, यवपालः ॥ The word तान्त is the rope with which calves are tied. (तनु विस्तारे + क्तिच्). This applies to words not denoting a functionary, which would be governed by VI. 2. 75. Why do we say गो &c? Observe वत्सपालैः ॥ Why do we say 'followed by पाल'? Observe गोरक्षः ॥

णिनि ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ णिनि, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिनन्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

79. A compound ending in the Kṛit-affix णिनि (इन्) has the acute on the first syllable of the first member.

Thus पुष्पहारिन्, फलहारिन्, पर्णहारिन् ॥

उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतावेव ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानम्, शब्दार्थे, प्रकृतौ, एव, (आद्युदात्तत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानवाचि पूर्वपदं शब्दार्थ प्रकृतावेव णिनन्तउत्तरपदआद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

80. When the first member of a compound expresses that with which resemblance is denoted, then it has acute on the first syllable, before a word formed by णिनि affix, only then, when such latter word is a radical without any preposition, and means 'giving out a definite sound like so and so'.

The word उपमान means the object with which something is likened: शब्दार्थ means 'expressing a sound'; प्रकृति means 'root, without any preposition'. Thus उष्ट्रक्रोशिन्, ध्वाङ्क्षराविन्, खरनादिन् ॥ The word उपमान shows the scope of this sûtra as distinguished from the last. So that, when the first term is an उपमान word, the preceding sûtra will not apply, though the second member may be a णिनि formed word. When the second term is not a word denoting sound, the rule will not apply. As वृकवञ्चिन्, वृकप्रेक्षिन् which retain kṛit accent (VI. 2. 139) Why do we say 'a radical word without any preposition'? Observe गर्दभोच्चारिन्, कोकिलाभिव्याहारिन् ॥ Here the second terms radically (i. e. châriu and hârin) do not denote sounds, but it is with the help of the Prepositions उत् and अभि, वि and आ that they mean sound. The force of एव is that the उपमान words are restricted. Such words get acute on the first syllable *only then*, when the second member is a radical sound name. According to Patanjali, the first syllable gets acute, whether it denotes उपमान or not, when the second word is a radical denoting sound. (शब्दार्थ प्रकृतौ ह्युपमानं चानुपमानं चाद्युदात्तमिष्यते) ॥ As पुष्कलजल्पिन्, for had एव not been used, the sûtra would have run

thus: उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतौ and would mean:—"If the second member is a sound denoting radical word, then the upamâna first member and no other will get the acute". But this is not what is intended : because when the second member is a sound-denoting radical, the first member will get the acute, whether it is upamâna word or not. The word एव therefore restricts upamâna; i. e. a first member denoting उपमानं will get the accent then only, when the second term is a sound-denoting radical. If the second term is not a sound denoting radical, the first term denoting upamâna will not get the accent. The compounding takes place by III. 2. 79.

युक्तारोह्यादयश्च ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युक्तारोह्यादयः, च (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युक्तारोह्यादयः समासा आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

81. The compounds युँक्तारोहिन् &c, have acute on the first syllable.

Thus 1 युँक्तारोही, 2 आँगतरोही, 3 आँगतयोधी, 4 आँगतवञ्ची, 5 आँगतनर्दी, 6 आँगतनन्दी, 7 आँगतप्रहारी ॥ These are formed by णिनि affix, and are illustrations of Rule VI. 2. 79. Some say, these delare a restrictive rule with regard to the first and second member of these terms. Thus रोहिन् &c must be preceded by युक्त, &c and युक्त &c followed by रोहिन् &c to make this rule VI. 2. 79 applicable. Thus वृक्षारोहिँन् though ending in णिनि does not take acute on the first, so युक्ताध्यायिँन् ॥ 8 आगतमत्स्या or °त्स्य, 9 क्षीँरहोता, 10 भँगिनीभर्त्ता ॥ The last two are Genitive compounds under Rule II. 2. 9. 11 ग्राँमगोधुक्, 12 अँश्वत्रिरात्रः, 13 गँर्गत्रिरात्रः, 14 व्युँष्टत्रिरात्रः, 15 शँनपादः (गणपादः), 16 सँमपादः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. 17 एँकशितिपात्=एकः शितिः पादोऽस्य ॥ This is a Bahuvrîhi of three terms. The word एकशितिः is a Taddhitârtha Samâsa (II. 1. 51), and being a Tatpurusha, required acute on the final, as the Tatpurusha accent is stronger. This declares acute on the first. Moreover by VI. 2. 29, this word एकशितिः would have acute on the first, as it is a Dvigu ending in a simple vowel. But the very fact that this word is enumerated here, shows that other Dvigu compounds in शिति are not governed by VI. 2. 29, therefore द्विशितिँपाद् has acute on ति ॥ The enumeration of the एकशितिपात् further proves by implication that the (एकशितिपात् स्वरवचनं ज्ञापकं निमित्तस्वरबलीयस्त्वस्य) accent for the application of which a case is present is stronger. (See Mahâbhashya II. 1. 1.) The class of compounds known as पाँत्रेसमित &c, (II. 1. 48) also belong to this class.

1 युक्तारोही, 2 आगतरोही, 3 आगतयोधी, 4 आगतवञ्ची, 5 आगतनन्दी (आगतनर्दी), 6 आगतप्रहारी, 7 आगतमत्स्यः (आगतमत्स्या), 8 क्षीरहोता, 9 भगिनीभर्ता, 10 ग्रामगोधुक्, 11 अश्वत्रिरात्रः 12 गर्गत्रिरात्रः, 13 व्युष्टित्रिरात्रः, 14 गणपादः (शणपादः), 15 एकशितिपात्, 16 पात्रेसंमितादयश्च (पात्रेसमितादयश्च), 17 समपादः ॥

दीर्घकाशतुषभ्राष्ट्रवटं जे ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घ, काश, तुष, भ्राष्ट्र, वटम्, जे, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घान्तं पूर्वपदं काश तुष भ्राष्ट्र वट इत्येतानि च जउत्तरपदे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

82. When the first member is a word ending in a long vowel, or is **काश, तुष, भ्राष्ट्र** or **वट,** and is followed by **ज,** the acute falls on the first syllable.

Thus कुटीजः, शमीजः, काशजः, तुषजः, भ्राष्ट्रजः वटजः These are formed by the affix ड added to जन् (III. 2. 97).

अन्त्यात्पूर्वं बह्वचः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त्यात्, पूर्वम्, बह्वचः (उदात्तम् जे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जउत्तरपदे बह्वचः पूर्वपदस्यान्त्यात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवति ॥

83. In a word consisting of more than two syllables, followed by **ज,** the acute falls on the syllable before the last.

Thus उपसरजः, मन्दुरजः, आमलकीजः, and वडवाजः (though the last two words have upapadas ending in long vowel, the accent is governed by this sûtra and not the last). Why do we say "a Polysyllabic first member"? Observe दग्धजानि तृणानि ॥

ग्रामेऽनिवसन्तः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामे, अनिवसन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति न चेन्निवसद्वाचि भवति ॥

84. Before **ग्राम,** the first syllable of the first member has acute, when thereby inhabitants are not meant.

Thus मल्लग्रामः, वणिग्ग्रामः ॥ Here ग्राम is equal to समूह 'an assemby'. देवग्रामः = देवस्वामिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning inhabitants'. Observe दाक्षिग्रामः 'a village inhabited by the descendants of Daksha', माहिकग्रामः 'a village inhabited by Mâhikas'.

घोषादिषु च ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ घोषादिषु, च, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घोषादिषु चोत्तरपदेषु पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

85. The first member has acute on the first syllable when followed by **घोष** &c.

Thus दाक्षिघोषः, दाक्षिकटः, दाक्षिपल्वलः, दाक्षिबदरी, दाक्षिवल्लभः, दाक्षिह्रदः, दाक्षिपिङ्गलः, दाक्षिपिशङ्गः, दाक्षिमाला, दाक्षिरक्षा, दाक्षिशाला, or (°रक्षः or °शालः), दाक्षिशिल्पी, दाक्ष्यश्वत्थः, दाक्षिशाल्मली, कुन्दतृणम्, आश्रममुनिः, दाक्षिपुंसा, दाक्षिकूटः ॥

Of the above, those which denote places of habitation, there the first members though denoting inhabitants get the acute accent. Some do not read the anuvritti of अनिवसन्तः in this aphorism, others however read it.

1 घोष, 2 कट (घट), 3 वल्लभ (पल्वल), 4 ह्रद, 5 बदरी (बदर), 6 पिङ्गल, 7 पिशङ्ग, 8 माला, 9 रक्षा (रक्षः), 10 शाला (शालः), 11 कूट, 12 शाल्मली, 13 अश्वत्थ, 14 तृण, 15 शिल्पी, 16 मुनि, 17 प्रेक्षा (प्रेक्षाकू ; पुंसा) ॥

छात्र्यादयः शालायाम् ॥८६॥ पदानि ॥ छात्र्यादयः, शालायाम्, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शालायामुत्तरपदे छात्र्यादय आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

86. The words छात्रि &c, get acute on the first syllable when followed by the word शाला ॥

Thus छात्रिशाला, ऐलिशाला, भाण्डिशाला ॥

Where the Tatpurusha compound ending in शाला becomes Neuter, by the option allowed in II. 4. 25 ; there also in the case of these words, the acute falls on the first syllable of the first term ; thus superseding VI. 2. 123 which specifically applies to Neuter Tatpurushas. Thus छात्रिशालम्, ऐलिशालम् ॥

1 छात्रि, 2 पेलि (ऐलि), 3 भाण्डि, 4 व्याडि, 5 आखण्डि, 6 आटि, 7 गामि (गोमि) ॥

प्रस्थे ऽवृद्धमकर्क्यादीनाम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्थे, अवृद्धम्, अकर्क्यादीनाम्, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थशब्दउत्तरपदे कर्क्यादिवर्जितमवृद्धं पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

87. The first member, which has not a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, or which is not कर्की &c, gets the acute on the first syallblə before प्रस्थ ॥

Thus इन्द्रप्रस्थः, कुण्डप्रस्थः, ह्रदप्रस्थः, सुवर्णप्रस्थः ॥ But not in दाक्षिप्रस्थः, माहिकि-प्रस्थः which have Vṛiddhi in the first syllable ; nor also in कर्कीप्रस्थः मघीप्रस्थः &c.

1 कर्की, 2 मघ्नी (मघी), 3 मकरी, 4 कर्कन्धु (कर्कन्धू), 5 शमी, 6 करीर, 7 कन्दुक (कटुक), 8 कवल (कुबल ; कूरल), 9 बदरी (बदर) ॥

मालादीनां च ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मालादीनाम्, च, (आदिः उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थइति वर्त्तते । प्रस्थउत्तरपदे मालादीनामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

88. The first syllable of माला &c, gets the acute when प्रस्थ follows.

Thus मालाप्रस्थः, शालाप्रस्थः ॥ This sûtra applies even though the first syllables are Vṛiddhi vowel. In the words एक and शोणा the letters ए and ओ are treated as Vṛiddhi (I. 1. 75).

1 माला, 2 शाला, 3 शोणा (शोण), 4 द्राक्षा, 5 स्राक्षा, 6 क्षामा, 7 काञ्ची, 8 एक, 9 काम, 10 क्षौमा ॥

अमहन्नवं नगरे ऽनुदीचाम् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, महत्, नवम्, नगरे, अनुदीचाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नगरशब्दउत्तरपदे महन्नवशब्दवर्जितं पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति तच्चेदुदीचां न भवति ॥

89. The first member has acute on the first syllable before the word नगर, but not when it is the word महत् or नव, nor when it refers to a city in the lands of the Northern People.

Thus सुह्मनगरम्, पुण्ड्रनगरम्, विराटनगरम् ॥ But not in महानगरम् and नवनगरम्, Why do we say "but not of Northern People"? Observe नान्दीनगरम् कान्तीनगरम् ॥

अर्मे चावर्णं द्व्यच्त्र्यच् ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्मे, च, अवर्णम्, द्व्यच्, त्र्यच्, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्मशब्दउत्तरपदे द्व्यच् त्र्यच् पूर्वपदमवर्णान्तमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

90. A word of two or three syllables ending in अ or आ (with the exception of महा and नव), standing before the word अर्मे has acute on the first syllable.

Thus दत्तार्मम्, गुप्तार्मम्, कुक्कुटार्मम्, वायसार्मम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in अ (long or short)'? Observe बृहदर्मम् ॥ Why do we say 'consisting of two or three syllables'? Observe कपिञ्जलार्मम् ॥ The words महा and नव are to be read here also. The rule therefore does not apply to महार्मम् and नवार्मम् ॥

न भूताधिकसंजीवमद्राश्मकज्जलम् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भूत, अधिक, संजीव, मद्र, अश्म, कज्जलम्, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत अधिक संजीव मद्र अश्मन् कज्जल इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि अर्मशब्दउत्तरपदे नाद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आद्युदात्तप्रकरणे दिवोदासादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

91. The following words do not get acute on the first syllable, when standing before 'arma', viz: भूत, अधिक, संजीव, मद्र, अश्मन् and कज्जल ॥

Thus भूतार्मम्, अधिकार्मम्, संजीवार्मम्, मद्रार्मम्, अश्मार्मम्, मद्राश्मार्मम् (because the sûtra shows the compounding of those words in madrâsmam) कज्जलार्मम् ॥ All these compounds have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Vârt:—In the Vedas the words दिवोदास &c, have acute on the first syllable. Thus दिवोदासाय गायत, वध्र्यश्वाय दाशुषे ॥

अन्तः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्यधिकृतमित उत्तरं यद्वक्ष्यामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्यान्त उदात्तो भवतीत्येवं वेदितव्यम् ॥

92. In the following sûtras upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive, is to be supplied the phrase "the last syllable in a word standing in the Nominative case has the acute".

This is an adhikâra aphorism. In the succeeding sûtras, the last syllable of the first member of a compound gets the acute accent. Thus in the next sûtra the word सर्व gets acute on the final. This adhikâra extends upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive.

सर्वं गुणकार्त्स्न्ये ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वम्, गुण, कार्त्स्न्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्दः पूर्वपदं गुणकार्त्स्न्ये वर्त्तमानमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

93. The acute is on the final of the word सर्व standing as first member before an attributive word, in the sense of 'whole, through and through'.

Thus सर्वश्वेतः, सर्वकृष्णः, सर्वमहान् ॥ Why do we say सर्व ? Observe परमश्वेतः, here the attribute of श्वेत pervades through and through the object referred: but the accent is not on the final of परम ॥ Why do we say 'attributive word'? Observe सर्वसौवर्णः, 'golden', सर्वराजतः 'silvery', which do not denote any attribute in their original state but modification. In fact it is not गुणकार्त्स्न्य here at all, but a विकारकार्त्स्न्य ॥ Why do we use the word 'Kârtsnya or complete pervasion". Observe सर्वेषां श्वेततरः=सर्वश्वेतः here the compounding takes place by the elision of the affix तरप् denoting comparison, and as it shows only comparitive, not absolute, whiteness, the rule does not apply. Moreover, in this example, the "kârtsnya" is not that of "guṇa" but of "guṇî", not of the 'attribute', but of the 'substance'. *Objection*:—How do you form such a compound सर्वेषां श्वेततरः=सर्वश्वेतः, for it is prohibited by II. 2. 11.? *Ans.* We do it on the strength of the following Vârtika गुणात्तरेण समासो वक्तव्यः, तरलोपश्च ॥

संज्ञायां गिरिनिकाययोः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, गिरि, निकाययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये गिरि निकाय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

94. The last syllable of the first member before **गिरि** and **निकाय** has the acute, when the compound is a Name.

Thus अञ्जनागिरिः, भञ्जनागिरिः, The finals of añjana and bhañjana are lengthened by VI. 3. 117. शापिण्डिनिकायः, मौण्डिनिकायः, चिखिल्लिनिकायः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name'? Observe परमगिरिः, ब्राह्मणनिकायः ॥

कुमार्यां वयसि ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार्य्याम्, वयसि, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार्यामुत्तरपदे वयसि गम्यमाने पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

95. The last syllable of the first member gets the acute when the word **कुमारी** follows, the compound denoting age.

Thus वृद्धकुमारी 'an old maid'. The compounding is by II. 1. 57. जरत्कुमारी ॥ This compound is formed by II. 1. 49 with जरती ॥ The words become masculine by VI. 3. 42 in both examples. Q. The word कुमारी was formed by ङीप् by IV. 1. 20 in denoting the prime of youth, how can this word be now applied to denote old age by being coupled with वृद्धा or जरती; it is a contradiction in terms. *Ans*; The word कुमारी has two senses; one denoting "a young maiden" and second "unmarried virgin". It is in the latter sense, that the attribute वृद्धा or जरती is applied. Why do we say "when the compound denotes age"? Observe परमकुमारी ॥

उदकेऽकेवले ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदके, अ, केवले, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकेवलं मिश्रं तद्वाचिनि समासे उदकशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

96. Before the word **उदक**, when the compound denotes a mixture, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गुडोदकम् or गुडोदकम्, तिलोदकम् or तिलोदकम् ॥ When we have already made the ड and ल acute by this rule, then the svarita accent may result optionally, by the combination of the acute अ of guḍa and tila and the subsequent grave उ of उदक, by Rule VIII. 2. 6. The word अकेवल means mixture. When mixture is not meant, this rule does not apply. As शीतोदकम्, उष्णोदकम् ॥

द्विगौ क्रतौ ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगौ, क्रतौ, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगावुत्तरपदे क्रतुवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

97. Before a Dvigu, when the compound denotes a sacrifice, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गर्गत्रिरात्रः, चारकत्रिरात्रः, कुसुरुविन्दसप्तरात्रः = गर्गाणां त्रिरात्रः &c. Why do we say 'before a Dvigu compound'? Observe अतिरात्रः (रात्रिमतिक्रान्त इति प्रादिसमासः) which being formed by the Samasânta affix अच् (V. 4. 87) has acute on the final (VI. 1, 163). Why do we say 'when denoting a sacrifice'? Observe बिल्वसप्तरात्रः = बिल्वशतस्य बिल्वहोमस्य वा सप्तरात्रः ॥

सभायां नपुंसके ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभायाम्, नपुंसके, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दउत्तरपदे नपुंसकलिङ्गसमासे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

98. Before the word सभा when it is exhibited as Neuter, the first member of the compound gets acute on the last syllable.

Thus गोपालसभम्, पशुपालसभम्, स्त्रीसभम्, शर्शसभम्, गोविडालसभम् ॥ Why do we say 'before सभा'? Observe ब्राह्मणसभम् ॥ Why do we say 'when in the Neuter'? Observe राजसभा, ब्राह्मणसभा ॥ The word सभा becomes Neuter under Rules II. 4. 23-24: therefore when the word सभा does not become Neuter under those rules, then by the maxim of Pratipadokta &c: the accent does not fall on the final of the preceding term as, रमणीयसभं, here the word सभा is neuter not by the force of any particular rules, but because the thing designated (अभिधेय) is neuter.

पुरे प्राचाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरे, प्राचाम्, (पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरशब्दउत्तरपदे प्राचां देशे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

99. Before the word पुर, when the compound denotes a city of the Eastern People, the final of the first member has the acute.

Thus ललाटपुरम्, काञ्चीपुरम्, शिवदत्तपुरम्, कार्णिपुरम्, नामपुरम् ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe शिवपुरम् ॥

अरिष्टगौडपूर्वे च ॥१००॥ पदानि ॥ अरिष्ट, गौड, पूर्वे, च, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अरिष्ट गौड इत्यवं पूर्वे समासे पुरशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

100. When the words अरिष्ट and गौड stand first, the first member has the acute on the final before the word पुर ॥

Thus अरिष्टपुरम्, गौडपुरम् ॥ By the force of the word पूर्व in the aphorism, we can apply the rule to अरिष्टश्रितपुरम्, गौडभृत्यपुरम् ॥

न हास्तिनफलकमार्देयाः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, हास्तिन, फलक, मार्देयाः, (अन्तोदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हास्तिन फलक मार्देय इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि पुरशब्द उत्तरपदे नान्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

101. But when the words हास्तिन, फलक and मार्देय precede पुर, the acute does not fall on their final.

This is an exception to VI. 2, 99. Thus हास्तिनपुरम्, फलकपुरम्, मार्देयपुरम् ॥ The son of मृदु is मार्देय formed by ढक्, the word belonging to Śubhrâdi class. The उ is elided by VI. 4. 147.

कुसूलकूपकुम्भशालं बिले ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसूल, कूप, कुम्भ, शालम्, बिले ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुसूल कूप कुम्भ शाला इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि बिलशब्द उत्तरपदे ऽन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

102. The words कुसूल, कूप, कुम्भ and शाला have the acute on the last syllable before the word बिल ॥

Thus कुसूलबिलम्, कूपबिलम्, कुम्भबिलम्, शालाबिलम् ॥ But not so here सर्पबिलम् ॥ Why do we say 'before बिल'? Observe कुसूलस्वामी ॥

दिक्शब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानराटेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्शब्दाः, ग्रामजनपदाख्यान, चानराटेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्शब्दाः पूर्वपदानि अन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ग्रामजनपदाख्यानवाचिषूत्तरपदेषु चानराटशब्दे च ॥

103. Words expressing direction (in space or time) have acute on the last syllable, when followed by a word denoting a village, or a country or a narrative, and before the word चानराट ॥

Thus पूर्वेषुकामशमी, अपरेषुकामशमी or पूर्वे and अपरे (VIII. 2. 6). The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. पूर्वकृष्णमृत्तिका, अपरकृष्णमृत्तिका ॥ Country name—पूर्वपञ्चालाः, अपरपञ्चालाः ॥ These are Karmadhâraya compounds (II. 1. 58). Story name:—पूर्वाधिरामम् or पूर्वा, पूर्वयायातम्, पूर्वाधिरामकम्, अपरयायातम् ॥ So also पूर्वचानराटम्, अपर चानराटम् ॥ The employment of the term शब्द in the aphorism shows that time-denoting दिक् words as in पूर्वयायातं should also be included. The word आधिरामम् is derived from आधिराममधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः (IV. 3. 87).

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासिनि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आचार्य्योपसर्जनः, च, अन्तेवासिनि, (अन्तोदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवासिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे दिक्शब्दा अन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

104. The direction denoting words have acute on the final, before the names of scholars, when such names are derived from those of their teachers.

Thus पूर्वपाणिनीयाः, अपरपाणिनीयाः, पूर्वकाशकृत्स्नाः, अपरकाशकृत्स्नाः ॥ Compare VI. 2. 36 Why do we say 'when derived from the names of their Teachers'? Observe पूर्वशिष्याः ॥ Why do we say 'Scholar-names'? Observe पूर्वपाणिनीयं शास्त्रम् ॥ (पाणिनीयं शास्त्रं पूर्वं चिरन्तनम्) ॥

उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर-पद-वृद्धौ, सर्वम् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदस्येत्यधिकृत्य या विहिता वृद्धिस्तद्वत्युत्तरपदे सर्वशब्दो दिक्शब्दाश्चान्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

105. Words denoting direction and the word सर्व have acute on the final, before a word which takes Vṛiddhi in the first syllable of the second term by VII. 3. 12 and 13.

By the sûtra उत्तरपदस्य VII. 3. 10. 12, the Vṛiddhi of the Uttarapada is ordained when the Taddhita affixes having ञ्, ण् or क् follow, the Purvapada being सु, सर्व and अर्ध ॥ The word उत्तरपदवृद्धिः therefore, means that word which takes Vṛiddhi, under the rule relating to uttarapâda, i. e. under rule VII. 3. 12 and 13. Thus पूर्वपाञ्चालकः, अपरपांचालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः ॥ These are formed by वुञ् affix (IV. 2. 125). Why do we say "which takes Vṛiddhi in the second term?" Had the word उत्तरपद not been used, then the sûtra would have run thus वृद्धौ सर्वं च, and would have applied to cases like सर्वमासः, सर्वकारकः where मासः and कारकः are Vṛiddha words not by virtue of VII. 3. 12.

बहुव्रीहौ विश्वं संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, विश्वम्, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे विश्वशब्दः पूर्वपदं संज्ञायां विषये ऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

106. The word विश्व has acute on the final, being first member in a Bahuvrîhi, when it is a Name.

Thus विश्वदेवः, विश्वयशाः, विश्वमहान् ॥ This is an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first member in a Bahuvrîhi would have retained its original accent. Why do we say in a Bahuvrîhi compound? Observe विश्वे च देवाः = विश्वदेवाः ॥ Why do we say 'when a name'? Observe विश्वेदेवा अस्य = विश्वदेवः ॥ But विश्वामित्रः and विश्वाजिनः have acute on the final, as they are governed by the subsequent rule VI. 2. 165 which supersedes this. The word Bahuvrîhi governs the succeeding sûtras upto VI. 2. 120 inclusive. The word विश्व is originally acute on the first, as it is formed by the affix क्वन् added to विश् ॥ This rule has unrestricted scope in विश्वदेवः, विश्वयशाः. and rule VI. 2. 165 has unrestricted scope in कुलमित्रः, कुलाजिनः ॥ But in विश्वामित्रः and विश्वाजिनः there is a conflict, as both these rules would apply, therefore by the maxim of vipratishedha, VI. 2. 165 supersedes this.

उदराश्वेषुषु ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदर, अश्व, इषु षु ।

वृत्तिः ॥ उदर अश्व इषु इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञाया विषये पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

107. The first member in a Bahuvrîhi, before the words उदर, अश्व and इषु, gets acute on the final syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

Thus वृकोदरः, दामोदरः, हर्यश्वः, यौवनाश्वः, सुवर्णपुङ्खेषुः and महेषुः ॥ This sûtra is also an exception to VI. 2 1 by which the first term would have retained its original aecent. The word वृक has acute on the first by Phit II. 7. The word दाम is formed by मनिन् affix (Uṇ IV. 145) and is first acute; हरि is also first acute as formed by इन् (Uṇ IV. 118). The word यौवन if considered as an underived primitive, has acute on the first by Phit II. 19. If it be considered as derived from युवन् with the affix अण् then it is already end-acute and would retain its accent even by VI. 2. 1. The first Bahuvrîhi word सुवर्ण has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, the second Bahuvrîhi compound सुवर्णपुंखाः has acute on र्ण by VI. 2. 1, the third Bahuvrîhi with इषु gets accent on ख ॥ The word महत is end-acute by V. 2. 38. Its mention here appears redundant.

क्षेपे ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेपे गम्यमाने उदरादिषूत्तरपदेषु बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञायां विषये पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

108. A word before उदर, अश्व and इषु in a Bahuvrîhi gets acute on the final, when reproach is meant.

Thus कुण्डोदरः, घटोदरः, कटुकाश्वः, स्यन्दिताश्वः, अनिघातेषुः, चलाचलेषुः ॥ The word कुण्ड has acute on the first as it is a Neuter name (Phiṭ II. 3), and it would have retained this accent in the Bahuvrîhi by VI. 2. 1. but for this sûtra. The word घट is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) and has acute on the final, and so it would have retained this accent by VI. 2. 1. even with out this sûtra. The word कटुक being formed by कन् (V. 3. 75) has acute on the first. स्यन्दित is formed by the Nishṭâ affix क्त ॥ The word अनिघात being an avyayîbhâva, the first member would have retained its original accent. In this and the last sûtra, all the acutes may optionally be changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 6. But अनुदरः and सूदरः have acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, which being a subsequent sûtra, supersedes this present, so far as अन् and सु are concerned.

नदी बन्धुनि ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नदी, बन्धुनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे बन्धुन्युत्तरपदे नद्यन्तं पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

109. In a Bahuvrîhi compound having the word बन्धु as its second member, the first member ending in the Feminine affix ई (नदी word) has the acute on its final syllable.

Thus गार्गीबन्धुः, वात्सीबन्धुः ॥ The words गार्गी and वात्सी are formed by adding ङीप् (IV. 1. 16) to गार्ग्य and वात्स्य ending in यञ् (IV. 1. 105), and therefore, they are first acute. By VI. 2. 1 this accent would have been retained, but for the present sûtra. Why do we say "a Nadî (Feminine in ई) word"? Observe ब्रह्मबन्धुः, the word ब्रह्म has acute on the first syllable as it is formed by मनिन् (Uṇ IV. 146) and it retains that accent (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say "before बन्धु"? Observe गार्गीप्रियः ॥

निष्ठोपसर्गपूर्वमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, उपसर्ग-पूर्वम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे निष्ठान्तमुपसर्गपूर्वं पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यामन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

110. In a Bahuvrîhi compound, a Participle in क्त preceded by a preposition, standing as the first member of the compound, has optionally acute on the last syllable.

Thus प्रधौतमुखः or प्रधौतमुखः (VI. 2. 169), or प्रधौतमुखः (VI. 2. 49 and 1) प्रक्षालितपादः or प्रक्षालितपादः ॥ When the word मुख means (mouth) then by VI. 2. 167 which is an optional rule, the accent falls on the last syllable खः ॥ When the other alternative is taken or when it does not mean (mouth) then by VI. 2. 49 the acute falls on प्र. which accent is retained (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say "a Nishṭhâ"? Observe प्रसेवकमुखः which is acute in the middle by the kṛit accent being retained ofter प्र (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say 'preceded by a preposition'? Observe शुष्कमुखम् which has acute on the first by VI. 1. 206.

उत्तरपदादिः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर, पदादिः, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदादिरित्येतदधिकृतम् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम उत्तरपदस्यादिरुदात्तो भवतीत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

111. In the following sûtras, upto VI. 2. 136 inclusive, should always be supplied the phrase "the first syllable of the second member has the acute".

This is an adhikâra aphorism and the word उत्तरपद exerts its influence upto the end of the chapter, while the word आदि has scope upto VI. 2. 187 exclusive.

कर्णो वर्णलक्षणात् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्णः, वर्ण, लक्षणात्, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे वर्णवाचिनो लक्षणवाचिनश्च कर्णशब्दउत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

112. In a Bahuvrîhi compound, the word कर्ण standing as second member, has acute on the first syllable, when it is preceded by a word denoting color or mark.

Thus with color we have शुक्लकर्णः, कृष्णकर्णः, and with mark-name, we have दात्राकर्णः शङ्कूकर्णः, the lengthening of दात्र and शंकु takes place by VI. 3. 115.

The marks of 'scythe', 'arrow' &c, are made on the ears of cattle to mark and distinguish them. It is such a 'mark' which is meant here, therefore, the rule does not apply to स्थूलकर्णः ॥ Why do we say कर्ण ? Observe श्वेतपादः, कूटशृङ्गः here श्वेत being formed by अच् (II. 1. 134) is end-acute, and कूट being formed by क (III. 1. 135) is also end-acute and these accents are retained in the compound. Why do we say "when preceded by a word denoting color or mark"? Observe शोभनपादः where शोभन being formed by युच् (III. 2. 149) is end-acute and this accent is retained (VI. 2. 1).

संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा, औपम्ययोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामौपम्ये च यो बहुव्रीहिर्वर्त्तते तत्र कर्णशब्द उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति संज्ञायाम् ॥

113. In a Bahuvrîhi the second member **कर्ण** has acute on the first syllable, when the compound denotes a Name or a Resemblance.

Thus कुञ्चिकर्णः, मणिकर्णः, are Names: गोकर्णः, खरकर्णः denote resemblance i. e. "persons having ears like a cow or an ass".

कण्ठपृष्ठग्रीवाजङ्घं च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, ग्रीवा, जंघम्, च, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्ठ पृष्ठ ग्रीवा जङ्घा इत्येतानि उत्तरपदानि बहुव्रीहौ समासे संज्ञौपम्ययोराद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

114. In a Bahuvrîhi expressing a Name or comparision, the second members **कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, ग्रीवा** and **जङ्घा** have acute on the first syllable.

Thus Name: शितिकण्ठः, नीलकण्ठः ॥ Comparision खरकण्ठः, उष्ट्रकण्ठः ॥ Name काण्डपृष्ठः, नाकपृष्ठः ॥ Resemblance गोपृष्ठ, अजपृष्ठः ॥ Name सुग्रीवः, नीलग्रीवः, दशग्रीवः ॥ Resemblauce गोग्रीवः, अश्वग्रीवः ॥ Name नाडीजङ्घः, तालजङ्घः ॥ Resemblance गोजङ्घः, अश्वजङ्घः, एणीजङ्घः ॥

The sûtra कण्ठपृष्ठग्रीवाजंघ is in Neuter gender, and जंघा is shortened as it is a Samâhâra Dvandva. In the case of सुग्रीव, the accent would have fallen on the final व by VI. 2. 172, this ordains acute on ग्री ॥

शृङ्गमवस्थायां च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृङ्गम्, अवस्थयाम्, च (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शृङ्गशब्द उत्तरपदमवस्थायां संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च बहुव्रीहौ आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

115. In a Bahuvrîhi denoting age, (as well as a Name or a Resemblance), the second member **शृङ्ग** gets acute on the first syllable.

Thus उद्गतशृङ्गः, द्व्यंगुलशृङ्गः, त्र्यंगुलशृङ्गः ॥ Here the word शृङ्ग denotes the particular age of the cattle at which the horns come out, or become one or two inches long. Name :—ऋष्यशृङ्गः comparison : गोशृङ्गः, मेषशृङ्गः ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'age &c'. Observe स्थूलशृङ्गः ॥

नञो जरमरमित्रमृताः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, जर, मर, मित्र, मृताः, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ उत्तरे जरमरमित्रमृता बहुव्रीहौ समासे आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

116. After a Negative Particle, in a Bahuvrîhi, the acute falls on the first syllable of जर, मर, मित्र and मृत ॥

Thus अजॅरः, अमॅरः, अमित्रॅः and अमृॅतः ॥ Why do we say after a Negative Particle? Observe ब्राह्मणमित्रः ॥ Why do we say "जर &c". Observe अशत्रुॅः when the final gets the acute by VI. 2. 172.

सोर्मनसी अलोमोषसी ॥ ११७॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, मन्-असी, अ लोम, उषसी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोरुत्तरमनन्तमसन्तं च बहुव्रीहौ समासे आद्युदात्तं भवति लोमोषसीवर्ज्जयित्वा ॥

117. After the adjective सु in a Bahuvrîhi, a stem ending in मन् and अस्, with the exception of लोमन् and उषस् has acute on the first syllable.

Thus सुकॅर्म्मन्, सुधॅर्मन्, सुप्रॅथिमन्, सुपॅयस्, सुयॅशस्, सुस्रॅोतस् so also सुस्रॅत् and सुध्वॅत् from the root स्रंस् and ध्वंस् with the affix क्विप् ॥ The final स् is changed to द् by VIII. 2. 72. But this substitution is considered asiddha for the purposes of accent, and these words are taken as if still ending in अस् ॥ Why do we say 'after सु?' Observe कृतकर्मन्, कृतयशस् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in मन् and अस्?' Observe सुराजन् and सुतक्षन् formed by the affix कनिन् (Uṇ I. 156), and the accent is on श and त, but with सु, the accent is thrown on the final by VI. 2. 172. Why do we say with the exception of लोमन and उषत्? Observe सुलोमॅन and सूषॅस् (VI. 2. 172). The following maxim applies here: अनिनस्मन् ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति "whenever अन्, or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in Grammar, denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there (अन्, इन्, अस् and मन्) represent these combinations of letters, both in so far as they possess and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning". Therefore the मन् and अस् void of meaning are also included here. Thus धर्मन् is formed by मन् (Uṇ I. 140), but कर्मन् is formed by मनिन् (Uṇ. IV. 145), and प्रथिमन् is formed by इमनिच् affix (V. 1. 122) in which मन् is only a part. Similarly यशस is formed by असुन् (Uṇ IV. 191), and so also स्रोतस् (Uṇ IV. 202); but in सुध्वॅस् (सुध्वस् from ध्वंस् with the affix क्विप III. 2. 76) the rule applies also, though अस् is here part of the root. But when the samâsânta affix कप् is added (V. 4. 154), then the accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding कप्, for there the subsequent Rule VI. 2. 173 supersedes the present rule: thus सुकर्मॅकः, सुस्रोतॅस्कः ॥

क्रत्वादयश्च ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रत्वादयः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रत्वादयः सोरुत्तरे बहुव्रीहौ समासे आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ।

118. After सु in a Bahuvrîhi, the acute falls on the first syllable of क्रतु &c.

Thus सुक्रतुः, सुदृशीकः, सुप्रतूर्तिः, सुहव्यः, सुभगः, सुप्रतीकः ॥

आद्युदात्तं द्व्यच्छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्युदात्तम्, द्व्यच्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्युदात्तं द्व्यच् उत्तरपदं बहुव्रीहौ समासे सोरुत्तरं तदाद्युदात्तमेव भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

119. In a Bahuvrîhi compound in the Chhandas, a word of two syllables with acute on the first syllable, when preceded by सु, gets acute on the first syllable.

In other words, such a word retains its accent. Thus:—स्वश्वासिन्धुः सुरथा सुवासा (Rig Veda X. 76. 8). Here स्वश्वः and सुरथः have acute on अ and र, which they had originally also, for अश्व and रथ are formed by क्वन् (Uṇ I. 151) and क्थन् (Uṇ II. 2) respectively and have the नित् accent (VI. 1. 197). Why do we say 'having acute on the first syllable'? Observe या सुबाहुः स्वङ्गुरिः (Rig II. 32. 7). Here बाहु has acute on the final (Uṇ I. 27 formed by उ affix and has the accent of the affix III. 1. 3). Why do we say 'having two syllables'? Observe सुगुरसत्, सुहिरण्यः ॥ This sûtra is an exception to VI. 2. 172.

वीरवीर्यौ च ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ वीर, वीर्यौ, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वीर वीर्य इत्येतौ च शब्दौ सोरुत्तरौ बहुव्रीहौ समासे छन्दसि विषये आद्युदात्तौ भवतः ।

120. In a Bahuvrîhi compound in the Chhandas, after सु, the words वीर and वीर्य have acute on the first syllable.

Thus सुवीरेण ते, सुवीरस्ते जनिता (Rig IV. 17. 4) सुवीर्यस्वश्व्यस् (Rig VIII. 13 36) where सुवीर्य has acute on वी ॥ So also सुवीर्यस्य पतयः स्याम ॥ The word वीर्य is formed by यत् affix and by VI. 1. 213, it would have acute on the first. But its enumeration in this sûtra shows that Rule VI. 1. 213 does not apply to वीर्य ॥ The word वीर्य has svarita on the final in the Chhandas, by Phit IV. 9. In the secular literature it is âdyudâtta.

कूलतीरतूलमूलशालाक्षसममव्ययीभावे ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कूल, तीर, तूल, मूल, शाला, अक्ष, समम, अव्ययीभावे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कूल तीर तूल मूल शाला अक्ष सम इत्येतानि उत्तरपदानि अव्ययीभावसमासआद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

121. In an Avyayîbhâva compound, the following second terms have acute on their first syllable: कूल, तीर, तूल, मूल, शाला, अक्ष and सम ॥

Thus परिकूलम्, उपकूलम्, परितीरम्, उपतीरम्, परितूलम्, उपतूलम्, परिमूलम्, उपमूलम्, परिशालम्, उपशालम्, उपाक्षम्, पर्यक्षम्, सुषमम्, विषमम्, निषमम् and दुःषमम् ॥ These last four are to be found in Tishṭhadgu class of compounds (II. 1. 17). Why do we say 'कूल &c'? Observe उपकुम्भम् ॥ Why do we say "in an Avyayîbhâva-

compound?" Observe परमकूलम्, उत्तमकूलम् ॥ After the prepositions परि, प्रति, उप and अप, the words कूल &c would have become accentless by VI. 2. 33, the present sûtra supersedes VI. 2. 33, and we have accent on कूल &c and not on the Prepositions.

कंसमन्थशूर्पपाय्यकाण्डं द्विगौ ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंस, मन्थ, शूर्प, पाय्य, काण्डम्, द्विगौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कंस मन्थ शूर्प पाय्य काण्ड इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि द्विगौ समासआद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

122. In a Dvigu Compound the following second members get acute on their first syllable :—कंस, मन्थ, शूर्प, पाय्य and काण्ड ॥

Thus द्विकंसः, (द्वाभ्यां कंसाभ्यां क्रीतः the affix टिठन् V. 1. 25 is elided by V. 1. 28) त्रिकंसः, द्विमन्थः, (the affix ठक् V. 1. 19 is elided by V. 1. 28) त्रिमन्थः, द्विशूर्पः, (the affix अञ् V. 1. 26 is elided) त्रिशूर्पः, द्विपाय्यः, त्रिपाय्यः, द्विकाण्डः, त्रिकाण्डः ॥ Why do we say in a Dvigu? Observe परमकंसः, उत्तमकंसः ॥

तत्पुरुषे शालायां नपुंसके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषे, शालायाम्, नपुंसके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शालाशब्दान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

123. The word शाला at the end of a Tatpurusha compound when exhibited in the Neuter has acute on the first syllable.

Thus ब्राह्मणशालम्, क्षत्रियशालम् ॥ The compound becomes Neuter by II. 4. 25. Why do we say "in a Tatpurusha"? Observe दृढशालं ब्राह्मणकुलम् which is a Bahuvrîhi compound and therefore first member retains its accent VI. 2. 1, and as the first member is a Nishṭhâ word, it has acute on the final. Why do we say "the word शाला?" Observe ब्राह्मणसेनम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Neuter'? Observe ब्राह्मणशाला ॥ Compare VI. 2. 86.

कन्था च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्था, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे कथाशब्द उत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

124. In a Neuter Tatpurusha ending in कन्था, the acute falls on the first syllable of the second member.

Thus सौशमिकन्थम्, आह्वरकन्थम्, चप्यकन्थम् ॥ The word सौशमिः denotes the descendant of सुशमः (शोभनः शमो यस्य) आह्वर is formed by the preposition आ with the verb ह्वृ and the affix क (III. 1. 136) The compound is Neuter by II. 4. 20. These are Genitive compounds. When the word is not Neuter we have दाक्षिकन्था ॥

आदिश्चिहणादीनाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, चिहणादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे चिहणादीनामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

125. In a Neuter Tatpurusha ending in कन्था, the first syllable of चिहण &c have the acute.

As चिँहणकन्थम्, मैँडरकन्थम्, मैँडुरकन्थम् ॥ The repetition of the word आदि in this sûtra, though its anuvritti was present, indicates that the first syllable of the *first member* gets the acute. The word चिह्‍ण is derived from the root चिनोति with क्विप् which gives चित् and हन is formed by adding अच् (III. 1. 134) to हन् ॥ चित् + हन = चिह्‍ण the elision of त् is irregular.

चेलखेटकटुककाण्डं गर्हायाम् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चेल, खेट, कटुक, काण्डम्, गर्हायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चेल खेट कटुक काण्ड इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि तत्पुरुषे समासे गर्हायां गम्यमानायामाद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

126. The words चेल, खेट, कटुक and काण्ड at the end of a Tatpurusha have acute on the first syllable, when a reproach is meant.

Thus पुत्रचेँलम्, भार्याचेँलम, उपानत्खेँटम्, नगरखेँटम्, (खेट इति तृणनाम, तद्वद् दुर्बला उपानत्) दधिकैँटुकम् (कटुकमस्वादु) उदश्वित्कैँटुकम्, भूतकाँण्डम् (काण्डमिति शरनाम, तद्यथा सत्वपीडाकर मेवं भूतमपि) प्रजाकाँण्डम् ॥ The reproach is denoted of the sons &c by comparing them to चेल &c. The analysis will be पुत्रश्चेलमिव i. e. चेलवत् तुच्छम् and the compounding takes place under II. 1. 56 : the Vyaghrâdi class being an akṛtigaṇa. When reproach is not meant, we have परमचेलम् ॥

चीरमुपमानम् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चीरम्, उपमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चीरमुत्तरपदमुपमानवाचि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

127. The word चीर, at the end of a Tatpurusha, has acute on the first syllable, when something is compared with it.

Thus वस्त्रम् चीरमिव = वस्त्रचीँरम्, पटचीँरम्, कम्बलचीँरम् ॥ Why do we say 'when comparison is meant?' Observe परमचीरम् ॥

पललसूपशाकं मिश्रे ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पलल, सूप, शाकम्, मिश्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पलल सूप शाक इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि मिश्रवाचीनि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

128. In a Tatpurusha ending in पलल, सूप and शाक the acute falls on the first syllable of these, when the compound denotes a food mixed or seasoned with something.

Thus गुडपैँललम्, घृतपैँललम्, घृतसूपः, मूलकसूँपः, घृतशाँकम्, मुद्गशाँकम् = गुडेन मिश्रं पललं &c. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 35. Why do we say 'when meaning mixed or seasoned?' Observe परमपललम् ॥

कूलसूदस्थलकर्षाः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कूल, सूद, स्थल, कर्षाः, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कूल सूद स्थल कर्ष इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि तत्पुरुषे समासे संज्ञायां विषये आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

129. The words कूल, सूद, स्थल and कर्ष have acute on their first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha denoting a Name.

Thus दाक्षिकूलम्, माहकिकूलम्, देवसूदम्, भाजीसूदम्, दाण्डायनस्थली, माहकिस्थली, दाक्षिकर्षः ॥ All these are names of villages. The feminine of स्थल is taken here, formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 42). When not a name we have परमकूलम् ॥

अकर्मधारये राज्यम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, कर्मधारये, राज्यम् (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारयवर्जिते तत्पुरुषे समासे राज्यमित्येतदुत्तरपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

130. The word राज्यम् has acute on the first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, which is not a Karmadhâraya.

Thus ब्राह्मणराज्यम्, क्षत्रियराज्यम् ॥ In a Karmadhâraya we have परमराज्यम् ॥ The accent taught in VI. 2. 126 to 130 is superseded by the accent of the Indeclinable taught in VI. 2. 2, though that rule stands first and this subsequent. As कुचेलम्, कुराज्यम् ॥

वर्ग्यादयश्च ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्ग्यादयः, च, (आद्युदात्तानि)

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्ग्य इत्येवमादीन्युत्तरपदानि अकर्मधारये तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

131. At the end of a non-Karmadhâraya Tatpurusha compound, the words वर्ग्य &c have acute on the first syllable.

Thus वासुदेववर्ग्यः, वासुदेवपक्ष्यः, अर्जुनवर्ग्यः, अर्जुनपक्ष्यः ॥ In a Karmadhâraya we have परमवर्ग्यः ॥ The words वर्ग्य &c are no where exhibited as such; the primitive words वर्ग, पूग, गण &c sub-divisionof दिगादि (IV. 3. 54) are here referred to, as ending with यत् affix.

पुत्रः पुम्भ्यः ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुत्रः, पुभ्यः (आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रशब्दः पुंशब्देभ्य उत्तरस्तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तो भवति ॥

132. The word पुत्र coming after a Masculine noun in a Tatpurusha has acute on the first syllable.

Thus कौनटिपुत्रः, दामकपुत्रः, माहिषपुत्रः ॥ Why do we say 'a पुत्र'? Observe कौनटिमातुलः ॥ Why do we say 'after a masculine word'? Observe गार्गीपुत्रः, वात्सीपुत्रः ॥

नाचार्यराजर्त्विक्संयुक्तज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आचार्य्य, राज, ऋत्विक, संयुक्त, ज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः, (आद्युदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्य उपाध्यायः । राजा ईश्वरः । ऋत्विजो याजकाः । संयुक्ताः स्त्रीसंबन्धिनः श्यालादयः । ज्ञातयो मातृपितृसंबन्धिनो बान्धवाः । आचार्याद्याख्येभ्यः परः पुत्रशब्दो नाद्युदात्तो भवति ।

133. The word पुत्र has not acute on the first syllable, when preceded by a word which falls under the category of teachers, kings, priests, wife's relations, and agnates and cognates.

The word आचार्य means 'teacher', राजा 'prince, king', ऋत्विज् 'a sacrificing priest', संयुक्ताः 'relations through the wife's side' as श्याला 'brother-in-law' &c: ज्ञाति means 'all kinsmen related through father and mother or blood-relations'. The word आख्या shows that the rule applies to the synonyms of 'teacher' &c, as well as to particular 'teacher' &c. Thus आचार्यपुत्रैः, उपाध्यायपुत्रैः, शाकटायनकपुत्रैः, राजपुत्रैः, ईश्वरपुत्रैः, नन्दपुत्रैः, ऋत्विकपुत्रैः, याजकपुत्रैः, होतुःपुत्रैः, (VI. 3. 23) संयुक्तपुत्रैः, संबन्धिपुत्रैः, श्यालकपुत्रैः, ज्ञातिपुत्रैः, भ्रातुष्पुत्रैः (VI. 3. 23). Here the special accent of पुत्र taught in the last sûtra being prohibited, the accent falls on the last syllable by the general rule VI. 1. 2 23.

चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिषष्ठ्याः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णादीनि, अ, प्राणि, षष्ठ्याः, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदादिरिति वर्त्तते तत्पुरुषइति च । चूर्णादीन्युत्तरपदानि अप्राणिवाचिनः षष्ठ्यन्तात्पराणि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

134. The words चूर्ण &c, in a Tatpurusha compound have acute on the first syllable, when the preceding word ends in a Genitive and does not denote a living being.

Thus मुद्गचूर्णम्, मसूरचूर्णम्, but मत्स्यचूर्णम् where the first term is a living being, and परमचूर्णम् where it is not Genitive. Another reading of the sûtra is चूर्णादीन्यप्राण्युपग्रहात्, the word उपग्रह being rhe ancient name of षष्ठी given by old Grammarians.

1 चूर्ण, 2 करिव, 3 करिप, 4 शाकिन, 5 शाकट, 6 द्राक्षा, 7 तूस्त, 8 कुन्दुम (कुन्दम), 9 दलप, 10 चमसी, 11 चक्कन (चकन चक्वन), 12 चौल ॥

The word चूर्ण is derived from the root चूरी दाहे (Div 50) with the affix क्त; करिव and करिप are formed with the upapada करि and the verbs वा 'to go' and पा 'to protect' respectively, and the affix क (करिणंवाति = करिव) (III. 2. 3); शक with the affix इनण् added diversely (Uṇ II. 56); शक with अटच् (Uṇ IV. 81) gives शकट; this with अण् (तद्वहति) gives शाकट; द्राक् क्षराति = द्राक्षा (Prishodarâdi); तुस (शब्दे) with क्त gives तूस्त the penultimate being lengthened; the word कुन्दु is formed by the affix क्विप added to the root दु with the upapada कु (कुंदुनोति कुत्सितं वा दुनोति) the angment मुम् being added to कु ॥ कुन्दुं मिमीते = कुन्दुमः ॥ दल with the âffix कपन् gives दलपः, चम with असच् forms चमस, then is added ङीष्; चक्कन is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) added to कन् and reduplication. चोलस्यापत्यं = चौलः ॥

षट् च काण्डादीनि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, च, काण्डादीनि, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षट् पूर्वोक्तानि काण्डादीन्युत्तरपदानि अप्राणिषष्ठ्या आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

135. The six words काण्ड, चीर, पलल, सूप, शाक and कूल of Sûtras VI. 2. 126–129, preceded by a non-living genitive word, have acute on the first syllable.

As दर्भकाण्डम्, शरकाण्डम्; दर्भचीरम्, कुशचीरम् ॥ In the last two examples चीर is not used as a comparision, that case being governed by VI. 2. 127, तिलपललम्, मूलकशाकम्, मुद्गसूपः ॥ Here पलल, सूप and शाक do not denote mixing, which is governed by VI. 2. 128. नदीकूलम्, समुद्रकूलम्, here the compound does not denote a Name, which would be the case under VI. 2, 129. Why these 'six' only? Observe राजसूदः ॥

कुण्डं वनम् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुण्डम्, वनम् (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुण्डशब्दोऽत्र कुण्डसादृश्येन वने वर्त्तते । कुण्डमित्येतदुत्तरपदं वनवाचि तत्पुरुषे समासे आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

136. The word कुण्ड at the end of a Tatpurusha compound denoting 'a wood or forest', has acute on the first syllable.

The word कुण्ड here denotes 'a wood' by metaphor. Thus दर्भकुण्डम्, शरकुण्डम् ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'a wood'? Observe मृत्कुण्डम् ॥ The word कुण्ड means (1) a basin (2) a caste called kuṇḍa. Some say it means 'forest' also primarily and metaphorically. The force here is that of समुदाय, i. e. शरवणसमुदायः = शरकुण्डम् ॥

प्रकृत्या भगालम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, भगालम्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भगालवाच्युत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

137. The word भगाल at the end of a Tatpurusha, preserves its original accent.

The synonyms of भगाल are also included. As कुम्भीभगालम्, कुम्भीकपालम्, कुम्भीनदालम् ॥ The words भगाल &c, have acute on the middle. Phit II. 9. The word प्रकृत्या governs the subsequent sûtras upto VI. 2. 143.

शितेर्नित्याबह्वज् बहुव्रीहावभसत् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शितेः, नित्य, अबह्वच्, बहुव्रीहौ, अभसत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शितेरुत्तरपदं नित्यं यदबह्वज् भसच्छब्दवर्जितं बहुव्रीहौ समासे तत्प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

138. After शिति, a word retains in a Bahuvrîhi its original accent, when it is always of not more than two syllables, with the exception of भसद् ॥

Thus शितिपा॑दः, शित्यं॑सः, शित्यौ॑ष्ठः ॥ The word पाद belongs to वृषादि class (VI. 1. 203) and has acute on the first, and अंसः and ओष्ठः being formed by सन् (Uṇ V. 21) and थन् (Uṇ II. 4) affixes, have acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). Why do we say 'after शिति'? Observe दर्शनीयपादः which being formed by the affix अनीयर् has acute on the penultimate syllable नी by VI. 1. 217 ॥ Why do we say 'always'? Observe शि॑तिककुत्, for though ककुत् is here of two syllables, it is an abbreviated form of ककुद, the final अ being elided in denoting condition of life (V. 4. 146), in compounds other than those denoting 'age', we have शितिककुदः, hence this word is not such which is *always* of two syllables. The word शिति has acute on the first syllable, by Phiṭ II. 10, and retains this accent in the Bahuvrîhi (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say 'abahvach or not many-syllable'? Observe शि॑तिललाटः ॥ Why do we say in a Bahuvrîhi? Observe शितेः पादः = शितिपादः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of भसत्'? Observe शि॑तिभसत् ॥ This sûtra is an exception to VI. 2. 1.

गतिकारकोपपदात्कृत् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति, कारक, उपपदात्, कृत, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषइति वर्त्तते न बहुव्रीहाविति । गतेः कारकादुपपदाच्च कृदन्तमुत्तरपदं तत्पुरुषे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

139. In a Tatpurusha, a word ending in a Kṛit-affix preserves its original accent, when preceded by an Indeclinable called Gati (I. 4. 60), or a noun standing in intimate relation to a verb (Kâraka), or any word which gives occasion for compounding (Upapada see III. 1. 92).

The above is according to Professor Bohtlingk. Thus प्रका॑रकः, प्रक॑रणम्, प्रहा॑रकः, प्रह॑रणम् ॥ The compounding is here by II. 2. 18. With kâraka-word we have :—इध्मव्र॑श्चनः, पलाशशा॑तनः, श्मश्रुक॑ल्पनः (III. 3. 117). With upapada words, we have :—ईषत्क॑रः, दुष्क॑रः, सुक॑रः ॥ All these are formed by लित् affixes and the accent is governed by VI. 1. 193. i. e. the word व्रश्चन is formed by ल्युट् (इध्मं प्रवृश्च्यते येन); so also with शातन (पलाशानि शात्यन्ते येन स दण्डः); so also with कल्पन (श्मश्रु कल्पते येन स क्षुरादिः) Why do we say "after a Gati, Kâraka, or an Upapada word?" Observe देवदत्तस्यकारकः = देवदत्तकारकः ॥ Here the Genitive in देवदत्त does not express a kâraka relation. The genitive is here a शेष लक्षणा षष्ठी denoting a possessor and not a कर्मलक्षणा one: for had it been latter, there would have been no compounding at all, by II. 2. 16. see also II. 3. 65. The word कृत् is employed in the sûtra for the sake of distinctness; for a gati, karaka or upapada could not be followed by any other word than a kṛit-formed word, if there is to be a samasa. For two sorts of affixes come after a root (dhâtu) namely तिङ् and कृत् ॥ A samâsa can take place with kṛit-formed words, but

not with tiṅanta words. So that without employing कृत् in the sûtra, we could have inferred that कृत् was meant. Therefore, it is said the 'Kṛit' is employed in the sûtra for the sake of distinctness. According to this view we explain the accent in प्रपचातितराम्, प्रपचातितमाम्, by saying that first compounding takes place with प्र and the words पचातितर and पचातितम ending in तरप् and तमप् and then आम्, is added and the accent of the whole word is regulated by आम् by the rule of सतिशिष्ट (see V. 3. 56. and V. 4. 11). According to others, the कृत् is taken in this sûtra, in order to prevent the gati accent applying to verbal compounds in words like प्रपचाति देश्यः,or प्रपचाति देशीयं (V. 3. 67), or प्रपचातिरूपम् (V. 3. 66). The accent of these will be governed by the rule of the Indeclinable first term retaining its accent.

उभे वनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत् ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उभे, वनस्पत्यादिषु, युगपत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्येति वर्त्तते । वनस्पत्यादिषु समासेषु उभे पूर्वोत्तरपदे युगपत् प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

140. In वनस्पति &c, both members of the compound preserve their original accent simultaneously.

Thus वनस्पतिः, both वन and पति have acute on the first syllable, and सुट् augment comes by VI. 1. 157. (2) बृहस्पतिः or बृहस्पतिः = बृहतां पतिः (VI. 1. 157) The word बृहत् is acutely accented on the final, some say it has acute on the first. (3) शचीपतिः (Sachî being formed by ङीष्), some make Sachî acute on the first शचीपतिः, by including it in Sarangrava class (IV. 1. 73). (4) तनूनपात् (tanû being formed by ऊ Un I. 80 has acute on the final, according to others it has acute on the first and napât=na pâti or na palayati with क्विप् and has acute on the first). (5) नराशंसः नरा अस्मिन्नासीनाः शंसन्ति or नरा एव शंसन्ति (nara is formed by अप् and has acute on the first, Sansa is formed by घञ्, the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137). (6) शुनः शेपः = शुन इव शेपोऽस्य is a Bahuvrihi: the Genitive is not elided by (VI. 3. 21. Vârt.), and both have acute on the first. (7) शण्डामर्कौ both 'Sanda' and 'Marka' being formed by घञ् have acute on the first: the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. (8) तृष्णावरूत्री ॥ Trishṇa has acute on the first, वरूत्री has acute on the final. The lengthening here also is by VI. 3. 137. (9) बम्बाविश्ववयसौ ॥ Bamba is finally acute, and viśva by VI. 2. 106 has acute on the final, as viśvavayas is a Bahuvrîhi. The lengthening takes place as before by VI. 3. 137. (10) मर्मृत्युः ॥ मर् is formed by विच् affix and मृत्यु has acute on the final. The words governed by this sûtra are those which would not be included in the next two sûtras.

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता, द्वन्द्वे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवतावाचिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्र युगपदुभे पूर्वोत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

141. In a Dvandva compound of names of Divinities, the both members retain their original accent.

Thus इन्द्रासोमौ, इन्द्रावरुणौ, इन्द्राबृहस्पती ॥ The word इन्द्र has acute on the first (by nipatana), सोम is formed by मन् (Uṇ I. 140), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197), वरुण is formed by उनन् (Uṇ III. 53) and by VI. 1. 197 has acute on the first. बृहस्पति has two acutes by VI. 2. 140, and Indra-Brihaspati has three acutes. Why do we say "names of divinities"? Observe प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ ॥ Why do we say 'a Dvandva'? Observe अग्निष्टोमः ॥

नोत्तरपदे ऽनुदात्तादावपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उत्तरपदे, अनुदात्तादौ, अ पृथिवी, रुद्र, पूष, मन्थिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदे ऽनुदात्तादौ पृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिवर्जिते देवताद्वन्द्वे नोभे युगपत्प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

142. In a Dvandva compound of the names of divinities, both members of the compound simultaneously do not retain their accent, when the first syllable of the second word is anudâtta, with the exception of पृथिवी, रुद्र, पूषन्, and मन्थिन् ॥

Thus इन्द्राग्नी, इन्द्रवायू, the words Agni and Vâyu have acute on the final. The word uttarapada is repeated in the sûtra, in order that it should be qualified by the word 'anudâttádau', which latter would otherwise have qualified Dvandva. The word "anudattadau" shows the scope of the prohibition and the injunction. Why do we say with the exception of 'pṛthivi' &c? Observe द्यावापृथिव्यौ or द्यौ dvyâvâ has acute on the first, 'prithivi' being formed by 'ńish', has acute on the final. सोमारुद्रौ, Rudra is formed by 'rak' affix (Uṇ II. 22.), and has acute on the final. इन्द्रापूषणौ, Pûshan has acute on the end. (Uṇ I. 159) शुक्रामन्थिनौ, the words Śukra and manthin have acute on the final.

अन्तः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्यधिकारो यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तत्र समासस्योत्तरपदस्यान्त उदात्तो भवतीत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

143. In the following sûtrâs up to the end of the chapter, should always be supplied the phrase "the last syllable of the second member has the acute".

The application is given in the next sûtra.

थाथघञ्क्ताजबित्रकाणाम् ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ थ, अथ, घञ्, क्त, अच्, अप्, इत्र, काणाम्, (अन्त उदात्तः,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ थ अथ घञ् क्त अज् अप् इत्र क इत्येवमन्तानामुत्तरपदानां गतिकारकोपपदात्परेषामन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

144. The last syllable of the second member has the acute, in the verbal nouns ending in थ, अथ, घञ्, क्त, अच्, अप्, इत्र and क, when preceded by a Gati, a Kâraka or an Upapada (VI. 2. 139).

Thus सुनीथः, अवभृथः formed by क्थन् affix (Uṇ II. 2 and 3), and but for this sûtra, by VI. 2. 139 these words would have retained their original accent which was acute on the first. अथः—आवसथः, उपवसथः formed by अथन् affix (Uṇ III. 116). घञ्—प्रभेदः, काष्ठभेदः, रज्जुभेदः ॥ क्तः—दूरादागतः, Here क्त has the force of कर्म, and the gati आ would retain its accent (VI. 2. 49) therefore, आगत is first acute: this accent would have been retained when compounded with the kâraka word dûra, but for this sûtra. विशुष्कः आतपशुष्कः ॥ अच् (III. 3. 56):—प्रक्षयः, प्रजयः, the words क्षय 'dwelling', and जय 'victory' are acute otherwise on the first (VI. 1. 201, 202). अप्—प्रलवः, प्रसवः ॥ इत्र—प्रलवित्रम्, प्रसवित्रम् ॥ क—खरवृषः गोवृषः = गां वर्षति, खरीं वर्षति (III. 2. 5 Vârt) : ब्रवृषः, प्रहृषः, (क being added by III. 1. 135). The word वृष has acute on the first as it belongs to वृषादि class (VI. 1. 203). When the preceding words are not Gati, Kâraka or Upapada, this rule does not apply : as सुस्तुतं भवता, अतिस्तुतं भवता, where सु and अति being Karmapravachaniya, the words get the accent of the Indeclinable.

सूपमानात् क्तः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु, उपमानात्, क्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु इत्येतस्मादुपमानाच्च परं क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

145. The Participle in क्त has acute on the final, when it is preceded by सु or by a word with which the second member is compared.

Thus सुकृतम्, सुभुक्तम्, सुपीतम् ॥ With Upamâna words we have—वृकावलुप्तम्, शशाप्लुतम्, सिंहविनर्दितम् ॥ This debars VI. 2. 49 and 48. When सु is not a Gati, the rule does not apply, as सुस्तुतम् भवता ॥

संज्ञायामनाचितादीनाम् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, अनाचितादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये गतिकारकोपपदात् क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति आचितादीन्वर्जयित्वा ॥

146. The Participle in 'kta' has acute on the last syllable, when preceded by a Gati, or a Karaka or an Upapada, if the compound denotes a Name, but not in आचित &c.

Thus संभूतो रामायणः, उपहूतः शाकल्यः, परिजग्धः कौण्डिन्यः ॥ This debars VI. 2. 49, धनुषखाता नदी, कुद्दालखातम् नगरम्, हस्तिमृदिता भूमिः ॥ Here VI. 2. 48 is debarred. Why do we say "when it is not आचित &c" Observe आचितम् &c.

1 आचित, 2 पर्याचित, 3 आस्थापित, 4 परिगृहीत, 5 निरुक्त, 6 प्रतिपन्न, 7 अपश्लिष्ट*, 8 प्रश्लिष्ट, 9 उपहित (उपहत) 10 उपस्थित, 11 संहितागवि (संहिताशब्दो यदा गोरन्यस्य संज्ञा तदान्तोदात्तो न भवति । यदा तु गोः संज्ञा तदान्तोदात्त एव ॥)

The word संहिता in the above list does not take acute on the final, when it is the name of anything else than a 'cow'; but when it denotes 'a cow' it has acute on the final.

प्रवृद्धादीनां च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रवृद्धादीनाम्, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवृद्धादीनां च क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

147. The words प्रवृद्ध &c. ending in 'kta' have acute on the final.

Thus प्रवृद्धं यानम्, प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, प्रयुक्ताः सक्तवः, आकर्षेऽवहितः, अवहितो भोगेषु, खट्वारूढः, कविशस्तः ॥ It is an Akritigaṇa. The words have acute on the final, even when not followed by यान &c, though in the Gaṇapâṭha they are read along with these words. Some hold it is only in connection with यान &c that these words have acute on the final. This being an Akritigaṇa we have पुनरुत्स्यूतं वासो देयं, पुनर्निष्कृतो रथः &c.

1 प्रवृद्धं यानम्, 2 प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, 3 प्रयुतास्तूष्णवः or प्रयुक्ताः सक्तवः 4 आकर्षे ऽवहितः, 5 अवहितो भोगेषु, 6 खट्वारूढः 7 कविशस्तः, आकृतिगण.

कारकाद्दत्तश्रुतयोरेवाशिषि ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारकात्, दत्त, श्रुतयोः, एव, आशिषि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामिति वर्त्तते, क्त इति च। संज्ञायां विषये आशिषि गम्यमानायां कारकादुत्तरयोर्दत्तश्रुतयोरेव क्तान्तयोरन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

148. The final of Part Participles दत्त and श्रुत alone has acute, in a compound denoting a Name and a benediction, the preceding word being a word standing in close relation to an action (kâraka).

Thus देवा एनं देयासुः = देवदत्तः, विष्णुरेनं श्रूयात् = विष्णुश्रुतः ॥

Why do we say "of दत्त and श्रुत"? Observe देवपालितः (VI. 2. 48), which, though a Name, is not governed by VI. 2. 146, and does not take acute on the final, for the present rule makes a restriction with regard to that rule even. So that where a Participle in क्त is preceded by a kâraka, and the compound donotes a benediction and a Name, the accent is not on the final, as required by VI. 2. 146, but such a word is governed by VI. 2. 48, unless the Participle be Datta and śruta, when the present rule applies. The word कारक indicates that the ru'e will not apply when a gati or upapada precedes. Why do we use 'एव (*alone*)'? So that the restriction should apply to 'kâraka', and not to 'Datta' and 'Śruta'. For the words 'Datta' and 'Sruta' will have acute on the final even after a nonkâraka word. As संश्रुतः, विश्रुतः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'? The rule will not apply where benediction is not meant. As देवैः खाता = देवखाता ॥ This rule applies to Datta and Sruta after a kâraka-word, only when benediction is meant. It therefore does not apply to देवदत्त 'the name of Arjuna's conch', as आहतेानदति देवदत्तः, which is governed by VI. 2. 48.

इत्थंभूतेन कृतमिति च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्थंभूतेन, कृतम्, इति, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इमं प्रकारमापन्न इत्थंभूतः । इत्थंभूतेन कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः समासो वर्तते तत्र क्तान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

149. The Participle in क्त has acute on the final, when the compound denotes 'done by one in such a condition'.

The word इत्थंभूत means 'being in such a condition'. Thus सुप्तप्रलपितम्, उन्मत्तप्रलपितम्, प्रमत्तगीतम्, विपन्नश्रुतम् as Adjectives and Abstract verbal nouns. This is an exception to VI. 2. 48. When the words प्रलपित &c are used to denote Noun of Action (भाव, then by VI. 2. 144 they get of course acute on the final.

अनो भावकर्मवचनः ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, भाव, कर्मवचनः, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन प्रत्ययान्तमुत्तरपदं भाववचनं कर्मवचनं च कारकात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

150. After a kâraka as mentioned in VI. 2. 148, the second member ending in the affix अन, and denoting an action in the Abstract or the object (i. e. having the senses of a Passive Adjective), has acute on the final.

Thus ओदनभोजनं सुखम, पयपानं सुखम्, चन्दनप्रियङ्गुकालेपनं सुखम् ॥ All these are examples of भाव or Abstract Verbal Nouns. राजभोजनाः शालयः, राजाच्छादनानि वासांसि, are examples of कर्मवचन or Passive Adjectives. These are formed by ल्युट् under III. 3. 116. For the Sûtra III. 3. 116 may be explained by saying that (1) ल्युट् is applied when the Upapada is in the objective case and bhâva is meant, (2) as well as when object is to be expressed. When the first explanation is taken, the above are examples of Bhâva; when the second explanation is taken, they are examples of Karma. Why do we say "ending in अन्"? Observe, हस्तहार्यमुदश्वित् ॥ Why do we say "when expressing an action in the abstract (bhâva), or an Object (karma)"? Observe दन्तधावनम्, here ल्युट् is added after an Instrumental kâraka (III. 3. 117). Why do we say "after a kâraka"? Observe निदर्शनम्, अवलेखनम् ॥ In all the counter-examples, the second members retain there original accent,

मन्क्तिन्व्याख्यानशयनासनस्थानयाजकादिक्रीताः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्, क्तिन्, व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान, याजकादि, क्रीताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्नन्तं क्तिन्नन्तं व्याख्यान शयन आसन स्थान इत्येतानि याजकादयः क्रीतशब्दश्चोत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

151. The words ending in मन् or क्तिन् affixes, and the words व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान and क्रीत as well as याजक &c, have acute on the final, when at the end of a compound, preceded by a kâraka word.

Thus मन्—रथवर्त्मन्, शकटवर्त्मन् ॥ क्तिन्—पाणिनिकृतिः, आपिशलिकृतिः ॥ व्याख्यान—ऋगयनव्याख्यानम, छन्दोव्याख्यानम् ॥ शयन—राजशयनम, ब्राह्मणशयनम् ॥ आसन्—राजासनम, ब्राह्मणासनम् ॥ स्थान—गोस्थानम, अश्वस्थानम् ॥ याजकादि words are those which form Genitive compounds under II. 2. 9, and those compounds only are to be taken here; as ब्राह्मणयाजकः, क्षत्रिययाजकः, ब्राह्मणपूजकः, क्षत्रियपूजकः ॥ क्रीत—गोक्रीतः, अश्वक्रीतः ॥ This is an exception to VI. 2. 139. and in the case of क्रीत, rule VI. 2. 48 is superseded. The words व्याख्यान &c do not denote here भाव or कर्म, had they done so, rule

VI. 2. 149 would have covered them. When the first member is not a kâraka, we have प्रकृतिः and प्रहारः ॥

1 याजक. 2 पूजक, 3 परिचारक, 4 परिषेचक परिवेषक 5 स्नापक स्नातक 6 अध्यापक, 7 उत्साहक (उत्सादक) 8 उद्वर्तक, 9 होतृ, 10 भर्तृ, 11 रथगणक, 12 पत्तिगणक, 13 पोतृ, 14 हातृ, 15 वर्तक,

सप्तम्याः पुण्यम् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्याः, पुण्यम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तात्परं पुण्यमित्येतदुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

152. The word पुण्य has acute on the final when preceded by a noun in the Locative case.

Thus अध्ययने पुण्यम् = अध्ययनपुण्यम्, वेदपुण्यम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 40 by the process of splitting the sûtra (yoga-vibhâga), taking सप्तमी there as a full sûtra, and शौण्डैः another. Here by VI. 2. 2, the first member would have preserved its accent, the present sûtra supersedes that and ordains acute on the final. The word पुण्य is derived by the Uṇâdi affix यत् (Uṇ V. 15) and would have retained its natural accent (VI. 1. 213) and thus get acute on the first syllable by kṛit-accent. (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say 'a locative case'? Observe वेदेन पुण्यं = वेदपुण्यम् ॥

ऊनार्थकलहं तृतीयायाः ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊनार्थ, कलहम्, तृतीयायाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऊनार्थान्युत्तरपदानि कलहशब्दश्च तृतीयान्तात्पराण्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

153. The acute falls on the final of words having the sense of ऊन, and of कलह, when they are second members in a compound, preceded by a term in the instrumental case.

Thus माषोनम्, कार्षापणोनम्, माषविकलम्, कार्षापणविकलम्, असिकलहः, वाक्कलहः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 31. This is an exception to VI, 2. 2 by which the first member being in the third case, would have retained its original accent. Some say that the word अर्थ in the sûtra means the word-form अर्थ, so that the aphorism would mean—"after an Instrumental case, the words ऊन, अर्थ, and कलह get acute on the final". The examples will be in addition to the above,:—धान्येनार्थाः = धान्यार्थः ॥ If this be so, then the word-form ऊन alone will be taken and not its synonyms like विकल &c. To this we reply, that ऊन will denote its synonyms also, by the fact of its being followed by the word अर्थ ॥ By sûtra II. 1. 31, ऊनार्थ and कलह always take the Instrumental case, so we could have omitted the word तृतीयायाः, from this sûtra, for by the maxim of pratipadokta &c, ऊनार्थकलहं would have referred to the compound ordained by II. 1. 31. The mention of तृतीया here is only for the sake of clearness.

मिश्रं चानुपसर्गमसंधौ ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिश्रम्, च, अनुपसर्गम्, असंधौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयेति वर्तते । मिश्र इत्येतदुत्तरपदमनुपसर्गं तृतीयान्तात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवत्यसंधौ गम्यमाने ॥

154. The word मिश्र has acute on the final after an Instrumental case, when it is not joined with any Preposition and does not mean a 'compact or alliance'.

Thus गुडमिश्राः, तिलमिश्राः, सर्पिमिश्राः ॥ Why do we say मिश्र? Observe गुडधानाः ॥ Why do we say 'not having a Preposition'? Observe गुडसंमिश्राः ॥ The employment in this sûtra of the phrase 'anupasargam' implies, that wherever else, the word miśra is used, it includes miśra with a preposition also. Therefore in II. 1. 31 where the word मिश्र is used, we can form the Instrumental compounds with मिश्र preceded by a preposition also. Why do we say 'not denoting a compact'? Observe ब्राह्मणमिश्रो राजा = ब्राह्मणैः सह संहित ऐकार्थ्यमापन्नः ॥ The word सन्धि here means a contract formed by reciprocal promises, if you do this thing for me, I will do this for you. Others say, it means close proximity, without losing identity, and thus differs from मिश्र in which two things blend together into one. Therefore though the King and the Brâhmaṇa may be in close proximity as regards space, they both retain their several individualities: hence the counter-example ब्राह्मणमिश्रोराजा ॥ While in the examples गुडमिश्राः &c there is no possibility of separating the two.

नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे संपाद्यर्हहितालमर्थास्तद्धिताः ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञः, गुण, प्रतिषेधे, संपादि, अर्ह, हित, अलम्, अर्थाः, तद्धिताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपादि अर्ह हित अलम् इत्येवमर्था ये तद्धितास्तदन्तान्युत्तरपदानि नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे वर्त्तमानात्पराण्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

155. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes denoting 'fitted for that' (V. 1. 99), 'deserving that' (V. 1. 63), 'good for that' (V. 1. 5), 'capable to effect that' (V. 1. 101), have acute on the final, when preceded by the Negative Particle नञ्, when it makes a negation with regard to the above mentioned attributes.

Thus संपादि 'suited for that' (V. 1. 99):—अकार्णवेष्टकिकं मुखम् = न कार्ण वेष्टकिकं (कर्ण वेष्टकाभ्यां सम्पादि) ॥ The affix is ठञ् ॥ अर्ह 'deserving that' (V. 1. 63):—अच्छैदिकः = न छेदि कः (छेदमर्हति). The affix is ठक् (V. 1. 64 and V. 1. 19). हित 'good for that' (V. 1. 5):—अवत्सीयः = न वत्सी यः ॥ The affix is छ V. I. 1. अलमर्थः 'capable to effect that' (V. 1. 101):—असंतापिकः = न संतापिकः ॥ The affix is ठञ् (V. 1. 18) Why do we say 'after नञ्'? Observe गार्दभरथमर्हति = गार्दभरथिकः, विगार्दभरथिकः, where the negative वि is used and therefore the avyaya वि retains its accent by VI. 2. 2. Why do we say 'negation of that attribute'? Observe गार्दभरथिकादन्यः = अगार्दभरथिकः ॥ The word गुण here means the attribute denoted by the Taddhita affix, and not any attribute in general. Thus अकार्णवेष्टकिकं मुखं =

कर्णवेष्टकाभ्याम् न संपादि मुखम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the sense of sampâdi &c'? Observe पाणिनीयमधीयते = पाणिनीयः; न पाणिनीयः, = अपाणिनीयः ॥ Why do we say "Taddhita affixes"? Observe कन्यां वोढुमर्हति = कन्यावोढा, न वोढा = अवोढा ॥ Here तृच् a kṛit affix is added in the sense of 'deserving' (III. 3. 169).

ययतोश्चातदर्थे ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ य, यतो, च, अतदर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ य यत् इत्येतौ यौ तद्धितावतदर्थे वर्तेते तदन्तस्योत्तरपदस्य नञो गुणप्रतिषेधविषयादन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

156. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes य and यत् when not denoting 'useful for that', have acute on the last syllable, after the particle नञ negativing the attribute.

Thus पाशानां समूहः = पाश्याः, न पाश्याः = अपाश्याः, So also अतृण्याः (IV. 2. 49); दन्तेषु भवं = दन्त्यम्, न दन्त्यं = अदन्त्यम्, अकर्ण्यम् (V. 1. 6). Why do we say 'atadartha:— not useful for that'. Observe पादार्थमुदकम् = पाद्यम्, न पाद्यम् = अपाद्यम् (V. 4. 25). This rule does not apply when the affixes are not Taddhita, as अदेयम् formed with the kṛit affix यत् ॥ There must be negation of the attribute, otherwise दन्त्यादन्यत् = अदन्त्यम् ॥ The affix य and यत्, one without any anubandha and the other with the anubandha त् being specifically mentioned, excludes all other affixes having य as their effective element, such as ड्य &c. (IV. 2. 9), thus न वामदेव्यं = अवामदेव्यम् ॥ See IV. 2. 9.

अच्कावशक्तौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच, कौ, अ शक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच् क इत्येवमन्तमशक्तौ गम्यमानायामुत्तरपदं नञः परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

157. A word formed with the kṛit affix अच् and क, preceded by the particle नञ्. has acute on the final, when the meaning is 'not capable.'

Thus अपचः = य पक्तुं न शक्नोति, so also अजयः, अपठः, अविक्षिपः, अविलिखः (III. 1. 134 &c). Why do we say when meaning 'not capable'? Observe अपचो दीक्षितः, अपचः परिव्राजकः ॥ A दीक्षित and a परिव्राजक do not cook their food, not because they are physically incapable of cooking, but because by the vows of their particular order they are prohibited from cooking.

आक्रोशे च ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे च गम्यमाने नञ उत्तरमच्कान्तमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

158. A word formed by the kṛit-affixes अच् or क, preceded by the Negative particle, has acute on the final when one abuses somebody by that word.

Thus अपचोऽयं जाल्मः 'this rogue does not cook, though he can do so'. Here avarice is indicated, the fellow wants more pay before he will cook : and not his incapacity. So also अपठोऽयं जाल्मः, so also अविक्षिपः, अविलिखः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (अन्तो दात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने नञः परमुत्तरपदं संज्ञायां वर्त्तमानमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

159. When abuse is meant, a word preceded by **नञ्**, has acute on the final, in denoting a Name.

Thus अदेवदत्तः 'No Devadatta, not deserving of this name' अयज्ञदत्तः, अविष्णुमित्रः ॥

कृत्योकेष्णुच्चार्वादयश्च ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, उक, इष्णुच्, चार्वादयः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्य उक इष्णुच् इत्येवमन्ताश्चार्वादयश्च नञ उत्तरेऽन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

160. After the Negative particle, the words formed by the kritya affixes (III. 1. 95), by **उक**, and **इष्णुच्**, and the words **चारु** &c. have acute on the final.

Thus kritya:—अकर्त्तव्यम्, अकरणीयम्, उकः—अनागामुकम्, अनपलाषुकम् ॥ इष्णुच्—अनलंकारिष्णुः,अनिराकरिष्णुः ॥ The affix इष्णुच् includes खिष्णुच् also: अनाढ्यंभविष्णुः, असुभगंभविष्णु ॥ चारु &c:—अचारुः, असाधुः, अयौधिकः, अवदान्यः, अननङ्गमेजयः (double negation). अनकस्मात् (double negation), The words वर्तमान, वर्धमान त्वरमाण, ध्रियमाण, रोचमान, क्रीयमाण, and शोभमान preceded by अ (नञ्) when denoting names have acute on the final. अविकारः, असदृशः and अविकारसदृशः (विकार and सदृश taken jointly & separately). अगृहपति, अगहपतिकः ॥ अराजा and अनर्हः in the Vedas only. In the Vernacular they have the accent of नञ्, i. e. udâtta on the first.

1 चारु. 2 साधु. 3 यौधाकि (यौधिक) 4 अनङ्गमेजय, 5 वदान्य 6 अकस्मात्, 7 वर्तमानवर्धमानत्वरमाणध्रियमाणक्रीयमाणरोचमानशोभमानाः (क्रियमाण क्रीयमाण) संज्ञायाम्, 8 विकारसदृशे व्यस्ते समस्ते (अविकार. असदृश अविकारसदृश), 9 गृहपति, 10 गृहपतिक, 11 राजाह्लोश्छन्दसि.

विभाषा तृन्नन्नतीक्ष्णशुचिषु ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, तृन्, अन्न, तीक्ष्ण, शुचिषु, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृन्नन्त अन्न तीक्ष्ण शुचि इत्येतेषु नञ उत्तरेषु विभाषा ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

161. After the Negative particle, the final of the following is optionally acute :—a word formed with the affix **तृन्**, and the words **अन्न, तीक्ष्ण,** and **शुचि** ॥

Thus तृन्—अकर्त्ता or अकर्त्ता ; अन्न &c—अनन्नम् or अनन्नम्, अतीक्ष्णम्, or अतीक्ष्णम्, अशुचिः or अशुचिः ॥ The alternative accent is that of the Indeclinable. (VI. 2. 2)

बहुव्रीहाविदमेतत्तद्भ्यः प्रथमपूरणयोः क्रियागणने ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहौ, इदम्, एतत्, तद्भ्यः, प्रथम, पूरणयोः, क्रिया-गणने, (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे इदम् एतद् तदित्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य प्रथमशब्दस्य पूरणप्रत्ययान्तस्य च क्रियागणने वर्त्तमानस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

162. In a Bahuvrîhi, after the words **इदम्, एतद्** and **तद्**, the last syllable of **प्रथम** and of a proper Ordinal Numeral, has the acute, when the number of times of an action is meant.

Thus इदं प्रथमं गमनं भोजनं वा = स इदमप्रथमः 'this is the first time of going or eating'. इदं द्वितीयः, इदं तृतीयः, एतत्प्रथमः, एतद्द्वितीयः, एतत्तृतीयः तत्प्रथमः, तद्द्वितीयः तत् तृतीयः ॥ Why do we say 'in a Bahuvrîhi?' Observe अनेन प्रथमः = इदंप्रथमः ॥ Here the first member being in the third case retains its accent by VI. 2. 2. Why do we say "after idam &c". Observe यत्प्रथमः = यःप्रथम एषाम्, here the first term retains its accent by VI. 2. 1. Why do we say 'of prathama and the Ordinals'? Observe तानि बहून्यस्य = तद्बहुः ॥ Why do we say 'in counting an action'? Observe अयं प्रथम एषां = त इद प्रथमाः ॥ Here *substances* are counted and not *action*. Why do we say 'in counting'? Observe अयं प्रथम एषां = इदं प्रथमाः i. e. इदं प्रधानाः ॥ and the word प्रथम means here 'foremost', and is not a numeral. When the कप् affix is added, the acute falls on the last syllable preceding कप् ॥ As इदं प्रथमकाः ॥ The Bahuvrîhi governs the subsequent sûtras upto VI. 2. 178.

संख्यायाः स्तनः ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्यायाः, स्तनः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यायाः परः स्तनशब्दो बहुव्रीहौ समासेऽन्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

163. In a Bahuvrîhi, after a Numeral, the word स्तन has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तनौ, त्रिस्तनौ, चतुःस्तनौः ॥ Why do we say after a Numeral? Observe दर्शनीयस्तना ॥ Why do we say 'स्तन'? Observe द्विशिराः ॥

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुव्रीहौ समासे संख्यायाः परः स्तनशब्दो विभाषा ऽन्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

164. Optionally so, in the Vedas, the stana after a Numeral has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तनौ or द्विस्तना, चतुःस्तनौ or चतुःस्तना ॥

संज्ञायां मित्राजिनयोः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, मित्र, अजिनयोः (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये बहुव्रीहौ समासे मित्र अजिन इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोरन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऋषिप्रतिषेधो मित्रे ॥

165. In a Bahuvrîhi, ending in मित्र and अजिन, the acute falls on the last syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

As देवमित्रः, ब्रह्ममित्रः, वृकाजिनः, कुलाजिनः कृष्णाजिनः ॥ Why do we say 'a Name'? Observe प्रियमित्रः, महाजिनः ॥

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of मित्र when the name is that of a Rishi. As विश्वामित्रः which is governed by VI. 2. 106 ॥

व्यवायिनो ऽन्तरम् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवायिनः, अन्तरम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवायी व्यवधाता । तद्वाचिनः परमन्तरं बहुव्रीहौ समासे ऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

166. In a Bahuvrîhi ending in अन्तर, the acute falls on the final, after a word which denotes 'that which lies between'.

Thus वस्त्रान्तरम् 'through an intervened cloth or drapery', पटान्तरम्, कम्बलान्तरम् = वस्त्रमन्तरं व्यवधायकं यस्य &c. Why do we say 'when meaning lying between'? Observe आत्मान्तरम् = आत्मा स्वभावोऽन्तरोऽन्योयस्य ॥

मुखं स्वाङ्गम् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुखम्, स्वाङ्गम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुखमुत्तरपदं स्वाङ्गवाचि बहुव्रीहौ समासे ऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

167. In a Bahuvrîhi the acute is on the final, when the second member is मुख meaning mouth i. e. the actual bodily part of an animal and not used metaphorically.

Thus गौरमुखः, भद्रमुखः ॥ Why do we say 'an actual part of a body'? Observe दीर्घमुखा शाला ॥ Here मुख means "entrance or door". The word स्वाङ्ग means "a non liquid substance actually to be found in living beings &c". as explained in III. 4. 54.

नाव्ययदिक्शब्दगोमहत्स्थूलमुष्टिपृथुवत्सेभ्यः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अव्यय, दिक्शब्द, गो, महत्, स्थूल, मुष्टि, पृथु, वत्सेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय दिक्शब्द गो महत् स्थूल मुष्टि पृथु वत्स इत्येतेभ्यः परं मुखं स्वाङ्गवाचि बहुव्रीहौ समासे नान्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

168. In a Bahuvrîhi, the acute does not fall on such मुख denoting a real mouth, when it comes after an Indeclinable, and a name of a direction, or after गो, महत्, स्थूल, मुष्टि, पृथु and वत्स ॥

Thus: अव्ययः—उच्चैर्मुखः, नीचैर्मुखः ॥ The words उच्चैः and नीचैः are finally acute and retain their accent. दिक्—प्राङ्मुखः, प्रत्यङ्मुखः ॥ The word प्राङ् has acute on the first by VI. 2, 52, and प्रत्यङ् is finally acute by VI. 3. 139. गो &c :—गोमुखः, महामुखः, स्थूलमुखः, मुष्टिमुखः पृथुमुखः and वत्समुखः ॥ In these the first members of the Bahuvrîhi preserve their respective accents under Rule VI. 2. 1 and in the case of compounds preceded by गा, मुष्टि and वत्स, the optional rule taught in the next sûtra is also superseded by anticipation, though the words may denote comparison.

निष्ठोपमानादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, उपमानात्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तादुपमानवाचिनश्च मुखं स्वाङ्गमुत्तरपदमन्यतरस्यां बहुव्रीहौ समासेऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

169, In a Bahuvrîhi, the word मुख denoting 'an actual mouth', has optionally the acute on the final, when preceded by a participle in त, or by that wherewith something is compared.

Thus प्रक्षालितमुखः or प्रक्षालितमुखः or प्रक्षालितमुखः ॥ When the final is not acute, then Rule VI. 2. 110 applies which makes the first member have acute on the final optionally, and when that also does not apply, then by VI. 2. 1. the first member preserves its original accent, which is that of the gati (VI. 2. 49). Thus there are three forms. So also with a word denoting comparison:— सिंहमुखः or सिंहमुखः, व्याघ्रमुखः or व्याघ्रमुखः ॥

जातिकालसुखादिभ्यो ऽनाच्छादनात् क्तो ऽकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ जातिकाल, सुखादिभ्यः, अनाच्छादनात्, क्तः, अकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचिन आच्छादनवर्जितात् कालवाचिनः सुखादिभ्यश्च परं क्तान्तं कृतमितप्रतिपन्नान्वर्जयित्वा बहुव्रीहौ समासेऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

170. After a word denoting a species (with the exception of a word for 'garment or covering'), and after a time-denoting word as well as after सुख &c. the Participle in क्त has acute on the final, in a Bahuvrîhi, but not so when the participles are कृत, मित and प्रतिपन्न ॥

Thus सारङ्गजग्धः, पलाण्डुभक्षितः, सुरापीतः ॥ कालः—मासजातः, संवत्सरजातः, द्व्यहजातः, त्र्यहजातः ॥ सुख &c:—सुखजातः दुःखजातः, तृप्रजातः ॥ Why do we say "after a Species, a time or सुख &c. word"? Observe पुत्रजातः (II. 2. 37), the participle being placed after the word Putra. Why do we say 'when not meaning a garment'? Observe वस्त्रच्छन्नः, वसनच्छन्नः from the root वस् with the affixes ष्ट्रन् and ल्युट् respectively. Why do we say "when not कृत &c."? Observe कुण्डकृतः, कुण्डमितः कुण्डप्रतिपन्नः; कुण्ड is first acute by Phit II. 3 being neuter. These three participles do not stand first in a compound (contrary to II. 2. 36), as this sûtra implies. In the counter-examples, above given, the first members retain their original accent (VI. 2. 1). The words सुख &c are given under III. 1. 18.

1 सुख, 2 दुःख, 3 तृप्र (तृप्र तीव्र) 4 कृच्छ्र, 5 अस्र, 6 आस्र*, 7 अलीक 8 प्रतीप, 9 करुण, 10 कृपण, 11 सोढ. 12 गहन.

वा जाते ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जाते, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातशब्दउत्तरपदे वा ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति बहुव्रीहौ समासे जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः ॥

171. After a species (with the exception of garment) or a time denoting word, or after सुख &c. in a Bahuvrîhi, the word जात has optionally acute on the final.

Thus दन्तजातः or दन्तजातः, स्तनजातः or स्तनजातः, मासजातः or मासजातः, संवत्सरजातः or संवत्सरजातः; सुखजातः or सुखजातः, दुःखजातः or दुःखजातः &c. The words दन्त and स्तन are first-acute by Phit II. 6; मास is first-acute by Phit II. 15, संवत्सर is finally-acute by Phit I. 7. बहिष्टवत्सरति शत्यान्ताम् "words ending in बहिष्ठ, वत्स, ति, शत् and थ are finally acute", as बहिष्ठः, संवत्सरः, सप्ततिः, त्रिंशत्, गूर्थम् ॥ The words सुख and दुःख are end-acute by Phit I. 6.

नञ्सुभ्याम् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ्, सुभ्याम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्सुभ्यां परमुत्तरपदं बहुव्रीहौ समासेन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

172. A Bahuvrîhi formed by the Negative particle नञ् or by सु has acute on the last syllable of the compound.

Thus अयवो देशः, अव्रीहिः, अमाषः, सुयवः, सुव्रीहिः, सुमाषः ॥ The acute here rests on the last syllable of the completed compound; so that the rule applies to the compounds which have fully developed themselves by taking the samâsânta affixes. Thus अनृचः (formed by the samâsânta affix अ V. 4. 74). Though the word समास and उत्तरपद are both present here by context, yet the operation is performed on samâsa. This is to be inferred, because of the next sûtra. For had the present sûtra meant that the final of the second member (उत्तरपद) preceded by नञ् and सु gets the acute, then there would have been no necessity of the next sûtra, for the present would have covered the case of सुकुमारीक &c because कप् is not a part of the *second term* (uttarapada) कुमारी but of the *compound* (Samasa) सुकुमारी; and therefore, if we translated the present sûtra, by saying that the end of second term gets acute, the accent would have fallen on ई in सुकुमारिकः even by this sûtra. But this is not intended, because of the accent of the samasanta words अनृचः and बहृचः ॥ There is necessity of the next sûtra, because a samâsa includes not only the simple samâsa, but one ending with a samâsânta affix. Therefore, had not the next sûtra been made, the accent would have fallen on क and not on ई, for the affix कप् is considered part of the samasa and not of the uttarapada समासान्तः समासस्यैवावयवा नोत्तरपदस्य ॥

कपि पूर्वम् ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपि, पूर्वम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्सुभ्यां कपि परतः पूर्वमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

173. A Bahuvrîhi formed by नञ् or सु and ending in the affix कप्, (V. 4. 153) has acute on the syllable preceding the affix.

By the last sûtra the accent would have fallen on कप्, this makes it fall on the vowel preceding it. Thus अकुमारीकोदेशः, अवृषलीकः, अब्रह्मबन्धूकः, सुकुमारीकः, सुवृषलीकः, सुब्रह्मबन्धूकः ॥

ह्रस्वान्ते ऽन्त्यात्पूर्वम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वान्ते, अन्त्यात्, पूर्वम्,(उदात्तम्)॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्वो ऽन्तो यस्य तदिदं ह्रस्वान्तमुत्तरपदं समासो वा, तत्रान्त्यात्पूर्वमुदात्तं भवति कपि परतो नञ्सुभ्यां परं बहुव्रीहौ समासे ॥

174. When the compound ends in a light vowel, the acute falls on the syllable before such last, in a Bahuvrîhi preceded by नञ् and सु to which कप् is added.

Thus अयवकोदेशः, अव्रीहिकः, अमाषकः, सुयवकः, सुव्रीहिकः, सुमाषकः ॥ The repetition of पूर्व in this sûtra, though its anuvritti was present from the last,

shows, that in the last aphorism, the syllable preceding कप् takes the acute, while here the syllable preceding the short-vowel-ending final syllable has the acute and not the syllable preceding कप् ॥ This is possible with a word which is, at least, of two syllables (not counting, of course, सु and क or कप्). Therefore, in अज्ञकः and सुज्ञकः, the acute is on the syllable preceding कप् by VI. 2. 173, because it has here no antyât-purvam.

बहोर्नञ्वदुत्तरपदभूम्नि ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहोः, नञ्वदुत्तरपदभूम्नि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदार्थबहुत्वे यो बहुशब्दो वर्त्तते तस्मान्नञइव स्वरो भवति । नञ्सुभ्यामित्युक्तम् । बहोरपि तथा भवति ॥

175. A Bahuvrîhi with बहु, has the same accent as नञ्, when it denotes muchness of the object expressed by the second member.

In other words a Bahuvrîhi with the word बहु in the first member, is governed by all those rules which apply to a Bahuvrîhi with a Negative Particle such as Rules VI. 2. 172 &c. when this gives the sense of multiety of the objects denoted by the second member. Thus बहुयवो देशः, बहुव्रीहिः, बहुतिलः the same as VI. 2. 172. बहुयवकः, बहुव्रीहिकः, बहुमाषकः by VI. 2. 174. बहुजरः, बहुमरः, बहुमित्रः, बहुमृतः by VI. 2. 116: these examples of VI. 2. 116 are not given by Dr. Bohtlingk.

Why do we say 'uttara-pada-bhumni—when multeity of the objects denoted by the second member is meant'? Observe बहुषु मनोऽस्य = बहुमना अयम् (VI. 2. 1).

न गुणादयो ऽवयवाः ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गुणादयः, अवयवाः (अन्तोदात्ताः)

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणादयो ऽवयववाचिनोबहोरुत्तरे बहुव्रीहौ नान्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

176. In a Bahuvrîhi, after बहु, the acute does not fall on the final of गुण &c. when they appear in the compound as ingredient of something else.

Thus बहुगुणाः रज्जुः, बह्वक्षरं पदम्, बहुच्छन्दोमानम्, बह्वध्यायः (VI. 2. I). गुणादि is an Akrtigaṇa. Why do we say "when it denotes an avayava or ingredient"? As बहुगुणो ब्राह्मणः = अध्ययनश्रुतसदाचारादयोऽत्रगुणाः ॥

1 गुण, 2 अक्षर, 3 अध्याय, 4 सूक्त, 5 छन्दोमान. आकृतिगण.

उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवमपर्शु ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, स्वाङ्गम्, ध्रुवम्, अपर्शु, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवं पर्शुवर्जितमन्तोदात्तं भवति बहुव्रीहौ समासे ॥

177. A word denoting a part of the body, which is constant (and indispensable), with the exception of पर्शु, has, after a Preposition in a Bahuvrîhi compound, the acute on the last syllable.

Thus प्रपृष्ठः, प्रोदरः, प्रललाटः; सततं यस्य प्रगतं पृष्ठं भवति स प्रपृष्ठः ॥ Why do we say 'after a Preposition'? Observe दर्शनीयललाटः ॥ Why do we say 'part of the body'? Observe प्रशाखो वृक्षः ॥ Why do we say 'dhruva—constant and indispensable'? Observe उद्बाहुः क्रोशति ॥ Here the hand is raised up only at the time of cursing and not *always*, so the state of उद्बाहु is temporary and not permanent. Why do we say with the exception of पर्शु? Observe उत्पर्शुः, विपर्शुः (VI. 2. 1).

वनं समासे ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनम्, समासे, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासमात्रे वनमित्येतदुत्तरपदमुपसर्गात्परमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

178. After a preposition, वन has acute on the final in compounds of every kind.

Thus प्रवणे यष्टव्यम्, निर्वणे प्रणिधीयते, the न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 5. The word 'samâsa' is used in the sûtra to indicate that all sorts of compounds are meant, otherwise only Bahuvrîhi would have been meant.

अन्तः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तश्शब्दादुत्तरं वनमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

179. After अन्तर् the acute falls on the final of वन ॥

Thus अन्तर्वणो देशः ॥ This sûtra is made in order to make वन oxytoned, when a preposition (upasarga) does not precede.

अन्तश्च ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तश्शब्दश्चोत्तरपदमुपसर्गादन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

180. The word अन्तर् has acute on the final when preceded by a Preposition.

Thus प्रान्तः, पर्यन्तः ॥ This is a Bahuvrîhi or a प्रादि compound.

न निविभ्याम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, नि, विभ्याम्, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि वि इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरोन्तश्शब्दो नान्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

181. The word antar has not acute on the final, after the prepositions नि and वि ॥

Thus न्यन्तः, व्यन्तः, here the first member retains its acute, and semivowel is then substituted for the vowel इ, then the subsequent grave is changed to svarita by VIII. 2. 4.

परेरभितोभावि मण्डलम् ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परेः, अभितः-भावि, मण्डलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परेरुत्तरमभितोभाविवचनं मण्डलं चान्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

182. After परि, a word, which expresses something, which has both this side and that side, as well as the word मण्डल, has acute on the final.

Thus परिकूलम्, परितीरम्, परिमण्डलम् ॥ This is a Bahuvrîhi or प्रादि compound or an Avyayîbhâva. If it is an Avyayibhâva, then rule VI. 2, 33 is superseded,

and the first member does not retain its original accent. अभितः = उभयतः 'on both sides, अभितोभावोऽस्यास्ति = अभितोभाविन् 'that which has both sides: namely those things which have naturally two sides such as 'banks', 'shores' &c.

प्राद्स्वाङ्गं संज्ञायाम् ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रात्, अस्वाङ्गम्, संज्ञायाम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादुत्तरपदमस्वाङ्गवाचि संज्ञायां विषये ऽन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

183. After प्र, a word, which does not denote a part of body, has acute on the final, when the compound is a name.

Thus प्रकोष्ठम्, प्रगृहम्, प्रद्वारम् ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting a body part'? Observe प्रहस्तम्, प्रपदम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe प्रपीठम् ॥

निरुदकादीनि च ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निरुदकादीनि, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निरुदकादीनि च शब्दरूपाण्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

184. The words निरुदक &c, have acute on the final.

Thus निरुदकम्, निरुलपम्, निरुपलम् &c.

1 निरुदक, 2 निरुपल निरुलप 3 निर्मक्षिक, 4 निर्मशक, 5 निष्कालक, 6 निष्कालिक, 7 निष्पेष, 8 दुस्तरीप, 9 निस्तरीप, 10 निस्तरीक, 11 निराजिन, 12 उदजिन, 13 उपाजिन, 14 परेर्हस्तपादकेशकर्षाः आकृतिगण.

These may he considered either as प्रादि समास or Bahuvrîhi. If they be considered as avyayî bhâva compounds then they are end acute already by VI. I. 223. The word निष्कालकः = निष्कान्तः कालकात्, is a Prâdi-samâsa with the word काल ending in the affix कन् ॥ The word दुस्तरीपः is thus formed: to the root तॄ is added the affix ई and we have तरी (Uṇ III. 158) तरीम् पाति = तरीपः; कुत्सित स्तरीपः = दुस्तरीपः ॥ The word निस्तरीकः is formed by adding the affix कप् to the Bahuvrîhi निस्तरी ॥ The words हस्त, पाद, केश anb कर्ष have acute on the final after परि, as, परिहस्तः, परिपादः, परिकेशः, and परिकर्षः ॥

अभेर्मुखम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभेः, मुखम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभेरुत्तरं मुखमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

185. The word मुख has acute on the final when preceded by अभि ॥

As, अभिमुखम् ॥ It is a Bahuvrihi or a प्रादि samâsa. If it is an Avyayibhâva, then it would have acute on the final by VI. I. 223 also. By VI. 2. 177, even मुख would have oxytone after an upasarga, the present sûtra makes the additional declaration that मुख is oxytone even when the compound is not a Bahuvrihi, when it does not denote an indispensable part of body, or a part of body even, as was the case in VI. 2. 177. Thus अभिमुखा शाला ॥

अपाच्च ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपात्, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्ति ॥ अपाच्चोत्तरं मुखमन्तोदात्तं भवति ।

186. The word मुख has acute on the final, after the preposition अप् ॥

Thus अपमुखम्, अपमुखैः ॥ The compound is in one case Avyayibhâva also, when rule VI. 2. 33 will be superseded. The separation of this from the last sûtra, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism, in which the anuvritti of अप only goes.

स्फिगपूतवीणाञ्जोध्वकुक्षिसीरनाम नाम च १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फिग, पूत, वीण, अञ्जः, उध्वम् कुक्षि, सीर नाम, नाम, च,

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फिग पूत वीणा अञ्जस् अध्वन् कुक्षि इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि सीरनामानि नामशब्दश्चापादुत्तराण्यन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ।

187. The words स्फिग, पूत, वीणा, अञ्जस्, अध्वन्, कुक्षि, नामन् and a word denoting 'a plough', have acute on the final when preceded by अप ॥

Thus अपस्फिगम्, अपपूतम्, अपवीणम्, अपाञ्जः, अपाध्वा (This ordains acute on the final where the compound apâdhwa does not take the samâsanta affix अच् by V. 4. 85, when it takes that affix, the acute will also fall on the final because अच् is a चित् affix.) This further shows that the samâsanta affixes are not compulsory. (अनित्यश्च समासान्तः), अपकुक्षिः, अपसीरः अपहलः, अपलाङ्गलम्, अपनाम ॥ These are प्रादि compounds or Bahuvrihi or Avyayîbhavas. Some of these viz. स्फिग, पूत and कुक्षिः will be end-acute by VI. 2. 177, also when they denote parts of body and a permanent condition and the compound is a Bahuvrihi. Here the compound must not be a Bahuvrihi, nor should these words denote parts of body and permanent condition of these parts.

अधेरुपरिस्थम् ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधेः, उपरिस्थम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधेरुत्तरमुपरिस्थवाचि अन्तोदात्तं भवति ।

188. After अधि, that word, which denotes that thing which overlaps or stands upon, has acute on the final.

Thus अधिदन्तः = दन्तस्योपरि योऽन्योदन्तो जायते 'a tooth that grows over another tooth'. अधिकर्णः, अधिकेशः ॥ These are प्रादि samâsa or an appositional compound in which the second member has been dropped. Why do we say when meaning 'standing upon'? Observe अधिकरणम् Here the acute is on क, the krit-formed second member retaining its accent (VI. 2. 139).

अनोरप्रधानकनीयसी ॥ १८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनोः, अप्रधान, कनीयसी, (अन्तोदात्तम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अनोरुत्तरमप्रधानवाचि कनीयश्चान्तोदात्तं भवति ।

189. After अनु, a word which is not the Principal, as well as कनीयस् has acute on the final.

The word अप्रधान means a word which stands in a dependant relation in a compound. Thus अनुगतो ज्येष्ठम् = अनुज्येष्ठः, अनुमध्यमः ॥ These are प्रादि samâsa

in which the first member is the principal or Pradhâna. अनुगतः कनीयान् = अनुकनीयान्, here the second member is the Principal: the word कनीयस् is taken as प्रधान ॥ Had it been non-pradhâna, it would be covered by the first portion of the sûtra, and there would have been no necessity of its separate enumeration. Why do we say "अप्रधान"? Observe अनुगतो ज्येष्ठः = अनुज्येष्ठः, where ज्येष्ठ is the Principal.

पुरुषश्चान्वादिष्टः ॥ १९० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरुषः, च, अन्वादिष्टः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषशब्दो ऽन्वादिष्टवाची चानोरुत्तरोऽन्तोदात्तो भवति ।

190. After अनु, the acute falls on the final of पुरुष, when it means a man of whom mention was already made.

The word अन्वादिष्ट means 'of a secondary importance, inferior', or 'mentioned again after having already been mentioned'. Thus अन्वादिष्टः पुरुषः = अनुपुरुषः ; but अनुगतः पुरुषः = अनुपुरुषः ॥

अतेरकृत्पदे ॥ १९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतेः, अकृत्पदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतेः परमकृदन्तं पदशब्दश्चान्तोदात्तो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अतेर्धातुलोपइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

191. After अति, a word not formed by a kṛit-affix, and the word पद, have acute on the last syllable.

Thus अत्यङ्कुशो नागः, अतिकशोऽश्वः, अतिपदा शक्वरी ॥ Why do we say 'non-krit-word and पद'? Observe अतिकारकः ॥

Vârt :—The rule is restricted to those compounds in which a root has been elided. That is, when in analysing the compound a verb like क्रम् is to be employed to complete the sense. Therefore it does not apply to शोभनो गार्ग्यः = अतिगार्ग्यः ॥ But it would apply to अतिकारकः, which when analysed becomes equal to अतिक्रान्तः कारम् ॥

नेरनिधाने ॥ १९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, अनिधाने, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेः परमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ।

192. After नि, the second member has the acute on the last syllable, when the sense is of 'not laying down'.

The word निधानं = अप्रकाशता 'not making manifest'. Thus निमूलम्, न्यक्षम्, नितृणम् ॥ These are either Bahuvrîhi or prâdisamâsa. In the case of their being Avyayîbhâva, they would have acute on the final by VI. I. 223. Why do we say when meaning 'not laying down'? Observe निवाक् = निहितवाक् as निवाग्वृषलः ; निदण्डः = निहितदण्डः ॥ The force of नि is that of निधान here.

प्रतेरंश्वादयस्तत्पुरुषे ॥१९३॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतेः, अंश्वादयः, तत्पुरुषे, (अन्तोदात्ताः)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतेरंश्वादयस्तत्पुरुषे समासेऽन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ।

193. In a Tatpurusha compound, the words अंशु &c have acute on the final when preceded by प्रति ॥

Thus प्रत्यंशुः, प्रतिजनः, प्रतिराजा ॥ In the case of राजन् this rule applies when the Samâsânta affix टच् is not added, when that affix is added, the acute will also be on the final by virtue of टच् which is a चित् affix.

1 अंशु, 2 जन, 3 राजन्, 4 उष्ट्र, 5 खेटक (खेटक), 6 अजिर, 7 आर्द्रा, 8 श्रवण, 9 कृत्तिका, 10 अर्ध, 11 पुर (आर्धपुर आर्धपुरः) ॥

The word अंशु is formed by the affix कु under the general class मृगय्वादयः (Uṇ I. 37), राजन् is formed by the affix कनिन् (Uṇ I. 156), उष्ट्र by adding ष्ट्रन् to उष् 'to burn'. (Uṇ IV. 162), खिद्+ण्वुल्=खेटक ; अजिर is formed by किरच् (Uṇ I. 53) आ+द्रा+अङ् (III. 3. 106), with the augment रक् added to आ=आर्द्रा ॥ श्रृ+ल्युट्=श्रवण, कृत+तिकन्=कृत्तिका (Uṇ III. 147) ऋध्+अच् (III. 1. 134)=अर्द्ध ; पुर्+क=पुर ॥

Why do we say 'in the Tatpurusha'? Observe प्रतिगता अंशवोऽस्य=प्रत्यंशुरश्वमुष्ट्रः ॥

उपाद् द्व्यजजिनमगौरादयः ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, द्व्यच् अजिनम्, अगौरादयः, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादुत्तरं द्व्यजजिनं चान्तोदात्तं भवति तत्पुरुषे समासे गौरादीन्वर्जयित्वा ॥

194. In a Tatpurusha, the words of two syllables and अजिन have acute on the final when preceded by उप, but not when they are गौर and the rest.

Thus उपगतो देवः=उपदेवः, उपेन्द्रः, उपसोमः, उपहोडः, उपाजिनम् ॥ But not so in उपगौरः, उपतैषः &c.

1 गौर, 2 तैष (तैष) 3 तैल, 4 लेट, 5 लोट, 6 जिह्वा, 7 कृष्ण (कृष्णा) 8 कन्या, 9 गुध (गुड) 10 कल्प, 11 पाद

Why "in a Tatpurusha"? Observe उपगतः सोमोऽस्य=उपसोमः ॥

सोरवक्षेपणे ॥ १९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, अवक्षेपणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुशब्दात्परमुत्तरपदं तत्पुरुषे समासेऽन्तोदात्तं भवति अवक्षेपणे गम्यमाने ॥

195. After सु, the second member has acute on the final in a Tatpurusha compound, when reproach is meant, in spite of the addition of सु which denotes praise.

Thus इह खल्विदानीं, सुस्थण्डिले सुस्फिताभ्यां सुप्रत्यवसितः ॥ The word सु here verily denotes praise, but it is the sense of the whole sentence that indicates reproach or censure. Why do we say "after सु"? Observe कुब्राह्मणः ॥ Why 'when reproach is meant'? Observe शोभनेषु तृणेषु=सुतृणेषु ॥

विभाषोत्पुच्छे ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उत्पुच्छे, (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पुच्छशब्दे तत्पुरुषे विभाषा ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

196. In a Tatpurusha, the word उत्पुच्छ may optionally have acute on the final.

Thus उत्क्रान्तः पुच्छात् = उत्पुच्छः or उत्पुच्छः (VI. 2. 2) ॥ When this word is derived by the affix अच् from पुच्छमुदस्यति = उत्पुच्छयति, then it would always have taken acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, the present sûtra ordains option there also. The rule does not apply to a non-Tatpurusha : as, उद्गतं पुच्छमस्य = उत्पुच्छः ॥

द्वित्रिभ्यां पाद्दन्मूर्द्धसु बहुव्रीहौ ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि, त्रिभ्याम्, पात्, दत्, मूर्द्ध सु, बहुव्रीहौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि त्रि इत्येताभ्यामुत्तरेषु पाद् दत् मूर्द्धन् इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु यो बहुव्रीहिस्तत्र विभाषा ऽन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

197. In a Bahuvrîhi, the words पाद्, दत् and मूर्धन् have optionally acute on the final after द्वि and त्रि ॥

Thus द्वौ पादावस्य = द्विपात् or द्विपात्, त्रिपाद् or त्रिपाद्, द्विदन् or द्विदन्, त्रिदन् or त्रिदन्, द्विमूर्द्धा or द्विमूर्धा ॥ The word पाद् is पाद with its अ elided, (V. 4. 140) दत् is the substitute of दन्त (V. 4. 141) and मूर्धन् retains its न् not allowing samâsanta affix. This also indicates that the samâsanta rule is not universal. When the samâsanta affix is added, then also the acute is on the final, for the कार्यी is here the Bahuvrîhi compound, and this is only a part of it. Thus द्विमूर्द्धः, त्रिमूर्द्धः ॥ Why after द्वि and त्रि ? Observe कल्याणमूर्धा here the first member is middle acute by Phiṭ II. 19 and this accent is retained VI. 2. 1. Why 'पाद् &c'? Observe द्विहस्तम्, त्रिहस्तम् ॥ Why 'Bahuvrîhi'? Observe द्वयोर्मूर्द्धा = द्विमूर्द्धा ॥

सक्थं चाक्रान्तात् ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सक्थम्, च, अ क्रान्तात्, (अन्तोदात्तः) (विभाषा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सक्थमिति कृतसमासान्तः सक्थिशब्दोत्र गृह्यते सोऽक्रान्तात्परो विभाषान्तोदात्तो भवति ॥

198. The word सक्थ has acute on the final optionally, when preceded by any word other than what ends in क्र ॥

The word सक्थ is the samâsânta form of सक्थि (V. 4. 113,). Thus गौरसक्थः or गौरसक्थः, श्लक्ष्णसक्थः or श्लक्ष्णसक्थः The word गौर being formed by प्रज्ञादि अण् and श्लक्ष्ण by क्स्न (Uṇ III. 19) are both end-acute. Why 'not after a word ending in क्र'? Observe चक्रसक्थः which is *always* oxytone as it is formed by षच् (V. 4. 113) a चित् affix.

परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परादिः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये परादिरुदात्तो भवति बहुलम् ॥

Karika—परादिश्च परान्तश्च पूर्वान्तश्चापि दृश्यते ।
पूर्वादयश्च दृश्यन्ते व्यत्ययो बहुलं ततः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्तोदात्तप्रकरणे त्रिचक्रादीनांछन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्वपदान्तोदात्तप्रकरणे मरुद्वृद्धादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्वपदाद्युदात्तप्रकरणे दिवोदासादीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

199. The first syllable of the second member is diversely acute, in the Veda.

The word पर "the second member" refers to सक्थ, as well as to any other word in general. Thus अञ्जिसक्थमालभेत, but लोमशसक्थः so also ऋजुबाहुः, वाक्पतिः, चित्पति ॥ In the non-Vedic literative these last two compounds will be final acute by VI. 1. 223, rule VI. 2. 18 not applying because of the prohibition contained in VI. 2. 19.

The rule is rather too restricted. It ought to be: "In the Veda, the *first* syllable and the *final* syllable of the *second* member, as well as the *final* syllable and the *first* syllable of the *preceding* member are seen to have the acute accent, in supersession of all the foregoing rules".

As to where the final of the second terms takes the acute, we have this *Vârtika*—In the Veda, त्रिचक्र &c have acute on the final of the second term. As त्रिचक्रेण, त्रिबन्धुरेण, त्रिवृतारथेन, ॥ नियेनं मुष्टिहत्यया ॥

As to where the final of the preceding takes the acute, we have this *Vârtika*:—The words मरुद्वृद्ध &c in the Vedas have acute on the final of the first term. As मरुद्वृद्धः and विश्वायुः ॥

As to where the first syllable of the preceding takes the acute, we have this *Vârtika*:—In the Veda, the words दिवोदास &c have acute on the first syllable of the first member. As दिवोदासाय सामगाय ते ॥

ओम् ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER THIRD

अलुगुत्तरपदे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलुक्, उत्तरपदे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलुगिति च उत्तरपदे इति च एतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो ऽलुगुत्तरपद इत्येव तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. In the following upto VI. 3. 24 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase "the elision does not take place before the second member of the compound".

The words अलुक् 'there is no elision', and उत्तरपदे "before the second member" are to be supplied in the subsequent sûtras. Both these words govern the sûtras upto VI. 3. 24, jointly; while उत्तरपदे extends further upto that point whence commences the jurisdiction of अङ्ग (VI.4. 1). Thus sûtra VI. 3. 2 says "the affixes of the Ablative after 'stoka' &c". The present sûtra should be read there to complete the sense, e. g. "the affixes of the Ablative after stoka &c are not elided before the second member of the compound". Thus स्तोकात् मुक्तः = स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अल्पान्मुक्तः ॥ Why do we say "before the second member"? Observe निष्क्रान्तः स्तोकात् = निःस्तोकः ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta does not apply here.

पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याः, स्तोकादिभ्यः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि स्तोकादीनि तेभ्यः परस्याः पञ्चम्या उत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

2. The Ablative-ending after स्तोक &c is not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अल्पान्मुक्तः, अन्तिकादागतः, अभ्याशादागतः, दूरादागतः, विप्रकृष्टादागतः, कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः ॥ By I. 2. 46, a case-inflected word when forming part of a compound is called prâtipadika, and by II. 4. 71 the endings of a Prâtipadika are elided. Therefore, in forming the compound of स्तोकात् मुक्तः, the ablative ending required to be dropped. The present sûtra prevents that. The words स्तोक &c in the dual and plural are never compounded, and consequently this rule does not apply to them. Thus स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्तः, स्तोकेभ्यः मुक्तः are separate words and not compounds, for not being treated as compounds, these are not

one Pada (एकपद) or one word, and do not have *one* accent, for in *one* word, there is only *one* acute. Thus while स्तोकान्मुक्तः being *one* compound word will have *one* acute (VI. 1. 158, VI. 2. 144), the word स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्तः being treated as *two* words, wlll have separate acute accents. The above compounding takes place by II. 1. 39.

Vârt :—The word ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् should be enumerated in this connection. Here also the Ablative is not elided. Thus ब्राह्मणादादाय शंसति = ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् "a kind of Ritvik priest".

ओजः सहोम्भस्तमसस्तृतीयायाः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् तमसः, तृतीयायाः (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओजस् सहस् अम्भस् तमस् इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयाया अलुग्भवति उत्तरपदे ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अञ्जस उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ पुंसानुजो जनुषान्ध इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The Instrumental endings after ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् and तमस् are not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus ओजसाकृतम्, सहसाकृतम्, अम्भसाकृतम्, तमसाकृतम् ॥

Vârt —अञ्जस् also should be enumerated. Thus अञ्जसाकृतम् ॥

Vârt :—The compounds पुंसानुजः and जनुषान्धः should also be mentioned. Thus पुंसा हेतुनानुजः = पुंसानुजः ॥ जनुषा हेतुनाऽन्धः = जनुषान्धः ॥ The word जनु is another name of जन्मन् 'birth'.

मनसः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनसः, संज्ञायाम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनस उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयायाः संज्ञायामलुग्भवति ॥

4. After मनस् when the compound is a Name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member.

Thus मनसादत्ता, मनसागुप्ता, मनसासंगता ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe मनोदत्ता, मनोगुप्ता ॥

आज्ञायिनि च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आज्ञायिनि, च, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आज्ञायिन्युत्तरपदे मनस उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयाया अलुग्भवति ॥

5. Also before आज्ञायिन्, the Instrumental endings of मनस् are not elided.

Thus मनसाज्ञायिन् = मनसाऽऽज्ञातुं शीलमस्य ॥

आत्मनश्च पूरणे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनः, च, पूरणे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मन उत्तरस्यास्तृतीयायाः पूरणप्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

6. The Instrumental endings after आत्मन् are not elided when an Ordinal Numeral follows.

Thus आत्मनापंचमः, आत्मनाषष्ठः ॥ The Instrumental case here takes place under the Vârtika तृतीयाविधानं प्रकृत्यादीनामुपसंख्यानं (II. 3. 18 Vârt). And compounding takes place by II. 1. 30, by separating तृतीया of that aphorism and making it a separate sûtra or in this way :—आत्मना कृतः पंचमः = आत्मनापंचमः ॥ How do you explain the form आत्मचतुर्थ in जनार्दनस्त्वात्मचतुर्थ एव? It is a Bahuvrîhi compound = आत्मा चतुर्थोऽस्य ॥ The word पूरणे is a later addition of the Vârtikakâra.

वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्याः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वैयाकरणाख्यायाम्, चतुर्थ्याः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वैयकारणस्याख्या वैयाकरणाख्या । आख्या संज्ञा । यथा संज्ञया वैयाकरणा एव व्यवहरन्ति तस्यामात्मन उत्तरस्याश्चतुर्थ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

7. The Dative case ending is not elided after आत्मन् when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus आत्मनेपदम्, आत्मनेभाषा ॥ The compounding takes place by the yoga-bibhâga of sûtra II. 1. 36, and the force of the Dative is here that of tadartha.

परस्य च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्य, च, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य च या चतुर्थी तस्या वैयाकरणाख्यायामलुग्भवति ॥

8. The Dative ending is not elided after पर, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus परस्मैपदम्, परस्मैभाषा ॥

हलदन्तात्सप्तम्याः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल् अदन्तात्, सप्तम्याः, संज्ञायाम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्तादवन्ताच्चोत्तरस्याः सप्तम्याः संज्ञायामलुग्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हृद्द्युभ्यां ङेः ॥

9. The Locative ending is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, when the compound is a Name.

Thus युधिष्ठिरः, त्वचिसारः, गविष्ठिरः ॥ Though गो does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of VIII. 3. 95 (गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिरः) which shows by implication that गवि is governed by this rule. So also अ ending words: as अरण्येतिलकाः, अरण्येभाषकाः, वनेकिंशुकाः, वनेहरिद्रकाः, वनेबल्बजकाः, पूर्वाह्णेस्फोटकाः, कूपेपिशाचकाः ॥ Why do we say "after a word ending in a consonant or अ"? Observe नद्यां कुक्कुटिका = नदीकुक्कुटिका, भूम्यां पाशाः = भूमिपाशाः ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe अक्षशौण्डः ॥

Vârt:—The Locative ending is not elided after हृद् and दिव्; as: हृदिस्पृक्, दिविस्पृक्ः ॥

कारनाम्नि च प्राचां हलादौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ कारनाम्नि, च, प्राचाम्, हलादौ, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचां देशे यत्कारनाम तत्र हलादावुत्तरपदे हलदन्तादुत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या अलुग्भवति ॥

10. The Locative-case affix is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, in the name of a tax of the Eastern people, when the second member begins with a consonant.

Thus सूपेशाणः, दृषदिमाषकः, हलेद्विपदिका, हलेत्रिपदिका ॥ All these are names of taxes, and would have retained the Locative ending even by the last rule. The present rule makes a niyama or restriction, which is threefold, namely (1) when it is the name of a tax, and no other word, (2) when it belongs to the Eastern people and no other people, (3) and when the second member begins with a consonant.

Why do we say when it is the name of a tax.? Observe अभ्यार्हितपशुः = अभ्यर्हितपशुः ॥ It is the name of 'a duty or dues', but not of a 'tax'. Why do we say "of the Eastern people"? Observe यूथेपशुः = यूथपशुः ॥ Why do we say 'before a second member beginning with a consonant'? Observe अविकटे उरणः = अविकटोरणः ॥ So also नद्यां दोहनी = नदीदोहनी ॥ For accent of these words see VI. 2. 65.

मध्याद्गुरौ ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्, गुरौ, अलुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यादुत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या गुरावुत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्ताच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

11. The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when गुरु follows.

As, मध्येगुरुः ॥

Vârt:—So also after अन्त ; as अन्तेगुरुः ॥

अमूर्द्धमस्तकात् स्वाङ्गादकामे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ मूर्द्ध, मस्तकात्, स्वाङ्गात्, अकामे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्द्धमस्तकवर्जितात्स्वाङ्गादुत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या अकामउत्तरपदे ऽलुग्भवति ॥

12. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a word denoting a part of the body (with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक), before every word other than काम ॥

Thus कण्ठे कालोऽस्य = कण्ठेकालः, उरसिलोमा, उदरेमणिः ॥ But मूर्धशिखः, मस्तकशिखः, मुखे कामोऽस्य = मुखकामः ॥ When the first member does not denote the name of a part of the body, the rule does not apply: as अक्षशौण्डः, nor does it apply when the first member does not end in a consonant or अ, as अंगुलित्राणः, जङ्घाबलिः ॥

बन्धे च विभाषा ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धे, च, विभाषा, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बन्ध इति घञन्तो गृह्यते । तस्मिन्नुत्तरपदे हलदन्तादुत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

13. The Locative case-affix is optionally not elided after a word ending in a consonant or अ before बन्ध ॥

Thus हस्तबन्धः or हस्तेबन्धः, चक्रेबन्धः or चक्रबन्धः ॥ This declares an option, with regard to the last rule, in a Bahuvrîhi when the first member is a स्वाङ्ग word, and also it is an option to VI. 3. 19, when the compound is a Tatpurusha, whether the first be स्वांग or not. The word बन्धः is घञ् formed word. When the first member ends in a vowel (other than अ), the rule does not apply. As गुप्तिबन्धः ॥

तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्, पुरुषे, कृति, बहुलम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे कृदन्तउत्तरपदे सप्तम्या बहुलमलुग्भवति ॥

14. In a Tatpurusha compound, when the second member is a word formed with a kṛit affix, the Locative ending is optionally preserved.

As स्तम्बेरमः, कर्णेजपः, but also कुरुचरः, मद्रचरः ॥

प्रावृट्शरत्कालदिवां जे ॥१५॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृट्, शरत्, काल, दिवाम्, जे, (अलुक्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृट् शरत् काल दिव् इत्येतेषां ज उत्तरपदे सप्तम्या अलुग्भवति ॥

15. The Locative ending is retained after प्रावृट्, शरत्, काल and दिव् when ज follows.

Thus प्रावृषिजः, शरदिजः, कालेजः, दिविजः ॥ This sûtra is but an extension or amplification of the previous sûtra.

विभाषा वर्षक्षरशरवरात् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वर्ष, क्षर, शर, वरात्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्ष क्षर शर वर इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या ज उत्तरपदे विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

16. The Locative ending is optionally retained after वर्ष, क्षर, शर, and वर when ज follows.

Thus वर्षेजः or वर्षजः, क्षरेजः or क्षरजः, शरेजः or शरजः, वरेजः or वरजः ॥

घकालतनेषु कालनाम्नः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ, काल, तनेषु, काल नाम्नः, (अलुक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ घसंज्ञके प्रत्यये कालशब्दे तनप्रत्यये च परतः कालनाम्न उत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

17. The Locative ending is optionally retained after a word denoting time ending in a consonant or अ when तरप् or तमप्, or the word काल or the affix तन follows.

The affixes तर् and तम् are called घ (I. 1. 22). Thus घ:—पूर्वाह्णेतरे or पूर्वाह्णतरे, पूर्वाह्णेतमे or पूर्वाह्णतमे ॥ काल :—पूर्वाह्णेकाले or पूर्वाह्णकाले ॥ तन :—पूर्वाह्णेतने or पूर्वाह्णतने ॥ Why do we say 'after a time—name'? Observe शुक्लतरे, शुक्लतमे ॥ The condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant or अ applies here also. Thus no option is allowed in रात्रितरायाम् ॥

As a general maxim, an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself (प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तदादे स्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम्) ॥ Thus the word थ, अथ &c in VI. 2. 144 means a word ending in थ affix &c. But in this chapter, so far as the jurisdiction of उत्तरपद goes, an affix does not denote a word-form ending in that affix, on the following maxim: उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्त ग्रहणम्; on the contrary the affix denotes its own-form. Thus तर, तम and तन here do not denote a word ending in these affixes. This rule we infer from the fact that in sûtra VI. 3. 50, the author declares "हृद् is the substitute of हृदय when the word लेख, and the affixes यत्, अण्, and लास follow". Had the affix अण् here meant the word-form ending in अण्, then there would have been no necessity of using the word लेख in the sûtra, as लेख is formed with the अण् affix. The word काल in the aphorism means the word-form काल ॥ See Sûtra IV. 3. 23 for the affix तन ॥

शयवासवासिष्वकालात् ॥१८॥ पदानि ॥ शय, वास, वासिषु, अकालात्, (अलुक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ शय वास वासिन् इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेष्वकालवाचिन उत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

18. The Locative ending is optionally retained before the words शय, वास and वासिन् when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short अ ॥

Thus खेशयः, or खशयः, ग्रामेवासः or ग्रामवासः, ग्रामेवासिन् or ग्रामवासिन् ॥ After a time-name we have पुर्वाह्णशयः ॥ After a vowel ending word (other than अ) we have भूमिशयः ॥

Vârt:—The Locative case-affix is retained after अप् when योनि, or the affix यत् or मतुप् follows. Thus अप्सुयोनिः, अप्सव्यः, अप्सुमन्तौ ॥ The affix यत् is added by treating अप् as belonging to the दिगादि class (अप्सु भवः, IV. 3. 54).

नेन्सिद्धबध्नातिषु च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इन्, सिद्ध, बध्नातिषु, च, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्नन्ते सिद्धशब्दे बध्नातौ च परतः सप्तम्या अलुग्न भवति ॥

19. The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in इन्, before the word सिद्ध, and before a word derived from बन्ध् ॥

Thus स्थण्डिलशायिन्, सांकाश्यसिद्धः, काम्पिल्यसिद्धः, चक्रबन्धकः, चरकबन्धकः ॥ The compounding takes place by yoga-vibhâga of sûtra II. 1. 40. Some use the word चक्रबन्धः as an illustration under this rule: बन्ध then is derived by अच् of III. 1. 134. The बन्ध ending in घञ् is governed by VI. 3. 13. This sûtra is an exception to VI. 3. 14.

स्थे च भाषायाम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थे, च, भाषायाम्, (न) (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थे चोत्तरपदे भाषायां सप्तम्या अलुग्न भवति ॥

20. The Locative ending is not preserved before स्थ in the spoken language.

Thus विषमस्थः, कूटस्थः, पर्वतस्थः ॥ But आखरेष्ठः in the Veda, as in कृष्णोस्याखरेष्ठः ॥ स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106.

षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठ्याः, आक्रोशे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने उत्तरपदे षष्ठ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ षष्ठीप्रकरणे वाग् दिक्पश्यद्भ्यो युक्तिदण्डहरेषु यथासंख्यमलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ आमुष्यायणामुष्यपुत्रिकामुष्यकुलिकेति चालुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ देवानां प्रिय इत्यत्र च षष्ठ्या अलुग् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ शेषपुच्छलाङ्गूलेषु शुनः असंज्ञायां षष्ठ्या अलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ दिवश्च दासे षष्ठ्या अलुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

21. The Genitive case affix is retained when the compound expresses an 'affront or insult'.

Thus चौरस्यकुलम्, वृषलस्यकुलम् ॥ Why do we say when insult is meant?. Observe ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

Vârt:—The Genitive is not elided after वाक् when followed by युक्ति, after दिश् before दण्ड, and after पश्यत् before हर ॥ As, वाचोयुक्तिः, दिशोदण्डः, पश्यतोहरः ॥

Vârt:—The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words आमुष्यायणः, आमुष्यपुत्रिका and आमुष्यकुलिका ॥ अमुष्य is the Genitive Singular of the Pronoun अदस्, and is enumerated in the नडादि class (IV. 1. 99) and takes फक् in forming the Patronymic, अमुष्यापत्यम् = आमुष्यायणः, अमुष्यपुत्रस्य भावः = आमुष्यपुत्रिका formed by वुञ् (V. 1. 133) ॥ So also आमुष्यकुलिका ॥

Vârt:—The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound देवानांप्रियः ॥ The author of Siddhânta Kaumudi says "when the sense is that of a fool, the affix is not elided in devânâm-priya" There is no authority for this, either in the Mahâbhâshya or the Kâśikâ. This was the title of the famous Buddhist monarch Aśoka, who would not have adopted it, had it meant 'a fool'. The phrase इति च मूर्खे has been added by Bhattoji Dikshit through Brahmanical spite.

Vârt:—The Genitive affix is not elided after श्वन् when शेप, पुच्छ and लांगुल follow it :—शुनः शेपः, शुनः पुच्छः, शुनोलांगुलः ॥

Vârt:—The Genitive affix is not elided after दिव् when दास follows : as दिवोदासः ॥

पुत्रे ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुत्रे, अन्यतरस्याम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रशब्दउत्तरपदे आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ऽन्यतरस्यां षष्ठ्या अलुग्भवति ।

22. The genitive affix is optionally retained when insult is meant, when पुत्र follows.

Thus दास्याः पुत्रः or दासीपुत्रः, वृषल्याः पुत्रः, or वृषलीपुत्रः ॥ But when insult is not meant we have ब्राह्मणीपुत्रः ॥

ऋतो विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धेभ्यः ॥२३॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, विद्या, योनि, सम्बन्धेभ्यः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्यो विद्यासम्बन्धवाचिभ्यो योनिसम्बन्धवाचिभ्यश्चोत्तरस्याः षष्ठ्या अलुग्भवति ॥

23. The genitive affix is retained after a word ending in ऋ and expressing a relationship through study or blood.

Thus होतुरन्तेवासिन्, होतुः पुत्रः, पितुरन्तेवासिन् or पितुः पुत्रः ॥ Why do we say "a word ending in ऋ"? Observe आचार्यपुत्रः, मातुलपुत्रः ॥ The relationship through 'study' or 'blood' should be between the first and the second member of the compound. Therefore, the rule does not apply to होतृधनम्, पितृधनम्, होतृगृहम्, पितृगृहम् ॥

विभाषा स्वसृपत्योः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, स्वसृ, पत्योः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वसृ पति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्ऋकारान्तेभ्यो विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धवाचिभ्यो विभाषा ऽलुग्भवति ॥

24. The genitive affix is optionally elided after a stem ending in ऋ when स्वसृ and पति follow, the relationship between the two words being through study or blood.

Thus मातुःस्वसा or मातुःष्वसा or मातृष्वसा, पितुःस्वसा or पितुःष्वसा or पितृष्वसा ॥ When the affix is elided, then स is invariably changed to ष by VIII. 3. 85; and when it is not elided, then the change is optional (VIII. 3. 85). So also दुहितुः पतिः or दुहितृपतिः, ननान्दुः पतिः or ननान्दृपतिः ॥

आनङ् ऋतो द्वन्द्वे ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनङ्, ऋतः, द्वन्द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तानां विद्यायोनिसंबन्धवाचिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्रोत्तरपदे पूर्वपदस्यानङादेशो भवति ॥

25. In a Dvandva compound of words ending in short ऋ and expresssing relationship through study or blood, the आनङ् is the substitute of the ऋ of the first member.

Thus होतापोतारौ, नेष्टोद्गातारौ, प्रशास्ताप्रतिहर्तारौ मातापितरौ, याताननान्दरौ ॥ The substitute is really आ, the ङ् is useful only to prevent the application of I. 1. 51, by which a र comes after every *simple vowel* substitute of ऋ ॥

Why do we say 'both words ending in ऋ'? Observe पितृपितामहौ ॥ The anuvritti of पुत्र is understood here, so that the ऋ of the first member is changed to आ before पुत्र also, though it does not end in ऋ. As पितापुत्रौ, मातापुत्रौ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता द्वन्द्वे, च, (आनङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवतावाचिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्रोत्तरपदे पूर्वपदस्यानङादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उभयत्र वायोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

26. The आनङ् is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dwandva compound of the names of the Devtâs.

Thus इन्द्रावरुणौ, इन्द्रासोमौ, इन्द्राबृहस्पती, मित्रावरुणौ ॥ The repetition of the word Dvandva in this sûtra, in spite of its anuvritti from the last, shows that

the rule applies only to such Dvandvas which are generally found in the Vedas and are well-known. It does not apply to compounds like ब्रह्मप्रजापति, शिववैश्रवणौ ॥ In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatas whose companionship is well-known.

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to वायु in both cases, whether first or last, as अग्निवायू or वाय्वग्नी ॥

ईदग्नेः सोमवरुणयोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, अग्नेः, सोम, वरुणयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोम वरुण इत्येतयोर्देवताद्वन्द्वे ऽग्ने रीकारादेशो भवति ॥

27. For the final of अग्नि, is substituted the long ई, when सोम or वरुण follow in a Dvandva.

Thus अग्नीषोमौ, अग्नीवरुणौ ॥ The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 82.

इद्वृद्धौ ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, वृद्धौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतवृद्धावुत्तरपदे देवताद्वन्द्वे ऽग्नेरिकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इद्वृद्धौ विष्णोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

28. The short इ is the substitute of the final of अग्नि in such a Dvandva in which both members take the Vṛiddhi.

Thus आग्निवारुणी, which would have required long ई by the last rule: आग्निमारुतम्, which would have required आनङ् by VI. 3. 26. Thus आग्निवारुणीमनड्वाहीमालभेत, आग्निमारुतं कर्म क्रियेत ॥ आग्नीमरुतौ देवताऽस्य (IV. 2. 24), takes the Taddhita affix, and by VII. 3. 21, both members of the compound take Vṛiddhi. When both members do not take Vriddhi, the rule does not apply: as आग्नेन्द्रः (आग्न इन्द्र), because इन्द्र does not take Vṛiddhi, by VII. 3. 22.

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated when the word विष्णु follows: as आग्नावैष्णवं चरुं निर्वपेत् ॥

दिवो द्यावा ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, द्यावा, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवित्येतस्य द्यावा इत्ययमादेशो भवति देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे ॥

29. For दिव् is substituted द्यावा in a Dvandva of the names, of the Devatâs.

Thus द्यावाक्षामा, द्यावाभूमी ॥

दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवसः, च, पृथिव्याम्, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृथिव्यामुत्तरपदे देवताद्वन्द्वे दिवो दिवसित्ययमादेशो भवति चकाराद् द्यावा च ॥

30. For दिव् is also substituted दिवस् (as well as द्यावा) when पृथिवी follows in a Dvandva of the names of Devatas.

Thus दिवस्पृथिव्यौ, द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ The word दिवस् is exhibited in the aphorism as दिवस ending in अ, in order to indicate that the स् of दिवस् is not changed to र् or a visarga or upadhmaniya when followed by पृथिवी ॥ Following is an

anomalous use there being no Dvandva compounding here. द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी नमेते ॥

उषासोषसः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उषासा, उषसः, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उषस उषासा इत्ययमादेशो भवति देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे ॥

31. For उषस् is substituted उषासा in a devatâ-dvandva.

Thus :—उषासासूर्यम्, उषासानक्ता ॥

मातरपितरावुदीचाम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातर, पितरौ, उदीचाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातरपितराविस्युदीचामाचार्याणां मतेनारङादेशो मातृशब्दस्य निपात्यते ॥

32. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरौ is a valid form.

This is formed by अरङ् substitution of the ऋ of मातृ ॥ The other form is मातापितरौ ॥

पितरामातरा च च्छन्दसि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितरा, मातरा, च, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितरामातरा इति छन्दसि निपात्यते ॥

33. In the Vedas the form पितरामातरा is valid.

In the ordinary language मातापितरौ is the proper form. The Vedic form is derived by adding अङ् to the first member, and आ is added to the second by VII. 1. 39 : and then Guṇa by VII. 3. 110. Thus आ मा गन्तां पितरामातरा च ॥

स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ्, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाः, पुम्वत्, भाषितपुंस्कात्, अनूङ्, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियाम्, अपूरणी, प्रियादिषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषितपुंस्कादनूङः स्त्रीशब्दस्य पुंशब्दस्येव रूपं भवति समानाधिकरणउत्तरपदे स्त्रीलिङ्गे पूरणीप्रियादिवर्जिते ॥

34. In the room of a feminine word there is substituted an equivalent and uniform masculine form, when it is a word which has an actual corresponding masculine, and does not end in the feminine affix ऊङ्, and is followed by another feminine word in the relation of apposition with it; but not when such subsequent word is an ordinal numeral, nor प्रिय &c.

The words of this sûtra require a detailed analysis ; स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word', पुंवद् "like the mascul ine", i. e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word. भाषितपुंस्कात् = भाषितपुमान्येन, by which a masculine is spoken of i. e. a word which has an equivalent masculine, the correspond-

ence must be in the *form* (आकृति) and the *connotation* (आयाम) of the two words; that is when both the words are coextensive in their denotation, applying to the same objects, but of different genders. A word which has not the affix ऊङ् is called अनूङ् ॥ That feminine word which does not end in ऊङ् and has a corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् स्त्रीशब्दः ॥ The word भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् is a Bahuvrîhi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously. Of such a भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् feminine word, there is the substitution of a masculine form. Provided that, the second member is a (समानाधिकरण) i. e. a word in apposition with the first, and (स्त्रियाम्) of the feminine gender: with the exception of an Ordinal numeral (पूरण) and of प्रिय &c.

Thus दर्शनीयभार्यः (=दर्शनीयाभार्या यस्य). Here दर्शनीया is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, दर्शनीयः, moreover this feminine does not end in the affix ऊङ्, but in the affix आ; it is followed by another feminine word भार्या which is in the same case with it, and which is not a Numeral nor included in the प्रियादि class; hence this word दर्शनीया is changed to the corresponding masculine word दर्शनीय ॥ So also श्लक्ष्णचूडः, दीर्घजङ्घः ॥ Why do we say स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word'? Observe ग्रामणि ब्राह्मणकुलं दृष्टिरस्य = ग्रामणिदृष्टिः ॥ Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine (भाषितपुंस्कः)? Observe खट्वाभार्यः ॥ There is no corresponding masculine of खट्वा ॥ Why do we say "of the same connotation and form समानायामाकृतौ"? Observe द्रोणीभार्यः, the masculine word द्रोण has not the same significance as द्रोणी ॥ The words गर्भिभार्यः, प्रसूतभार्यः, and प्रजातभार्यः are anomalous. Why do we say not ending in ऊङ्? Observe ब्रह्मबन्धूभार्यः ॥ Why do we say 'both words being in the same case and referring to another person'? Observe कल्याण्यामाता=कल्याणीमाता "the mother of Kalyâṇî". Why do we say स्त्रियाम् 'followed by a feminine word'? Observe कल्याणी प्रधानमेषां = कल्याणीप्रधानाः (इमे) ॥ Here the second member प्रधान is a Neuter word. Why do we say 'not being an ordinal Numeral'? Observe कल्याणी पञ्चमी यासां ताः = कल्याणी पञ्चमारात्रयः, so also कल्याणीदशमाः ॥ The Ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Derivative Ordinals. Therefore the rule applies here कल्याणपञ्चमीकः पक्षः ॥ The samâsânta affix अप् (V. 4. 116) also applies to an Ordinal which is a Principal and not what is used as a secondary word: and therefore the above compound does not take अप् ॥ Why do we say not before प्रिय &c. Observe कल्याणीप्रियः ॥

1 प्रिया, 2 मनोज्ञा, 3 कल्याणी, 4 सुभगा, 5 दुर्भगा, 6 भक्ति, 7 सचिवा, 8 स्वा (स्वसा), 9 कान्ता, 10 क्षान्ता, 11 समा, 12 चपला, 13 दुहिता, 14 वामना (वामा) 15 तनया, 16 अम्बा ॥ The compound दृढभक्तिः is anomalous.

तसिलादिष्वाकृत्वसुचः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तसिलादिषु, आकृत्वसुचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यास्तसिलित्यतः प्रभृति संख्यायाः क्रियाभ्यावृत्तिगणने कृत्वसुजिति प्रागेतस्माद् ये प्रत्ययास्तेषु भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ्स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शसि बह्वल्पार्थस्य पुंवद्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ त्वतलोर्गुणवचनस्य पुंवद्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ भस्याढे तद्धिते पुंवद्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ ठक्छसोश्च पुंवद्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥

35. A feminine word not ending in the affix ऊङ्, and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed to such masculine form, before the affixes beginning with तसिल् &c (V. 3. 7) and ending with कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17)

Thus तस्याः शालायाः = ततः, तस्यां = तत्र, यस्यां = यत्र, यस्याः = यतः ॥ The following are the affixes before which the feminine is changed to masculine: त्र and तस्, तरप् and तमप्, चरट्, जातीयर्, कल्पप्, देश्य, देशीयर् रूपप्, पाशप्, थम, थाल, दा and र्हिल तिल् तातिल् ॥ All other affixes do not affect the gender. Thus तरप् तमप् &c दर्शनीयतरा, दर्शनीयतमा, पटुचरी, पटुजातीया, दर्शनीयकल्पा, दर्शनीयदेशीया, दर्शनीयरूपा, दर्शनीयपाशा ॥ कया प्रकृत्या = कथम्, यया प्रकृत्या = यथा, तस्यां वेलायां = तदा, तर्हि &c.

Vârt:—The feminine of बहु and अल्प is changed to masculine before the Taddhita affix शस्:—as बह्वीभ्यो देहि = बहुशो देहि; अल्पाभ्यो देहि = अल्पशो देहि ॥

Vârt:—A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine before the affixes त्व and तल् ॥ As पट्व्या भावः = पटुत्वम् or पटुता ॥ Why do we say 'an adjective'? Observe कठ्या भावः = कण्ठीत्वं or कठीता ॥

Vârt: The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita affixes, except ढ, when the word gets the designation of भ ॥ Thus हस्तिनीनां समूहः = हास्तिकम् ॥ Had the word not become masculine, then हस्तिनी having lost its ई (VI. 4. 148), the word न् of हस्तिन् would not be elided be fore the Taddhta affix, because the lopa-elision being sthânivat, would have prevented the application of the rule VI. 4. 144, ordaining the elision of the final syllable. So the form would have been something like हास्तिनिकम् instead of हास्तिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of ढ'? Observe श्यैनेयः, रौहिणेयः the masculine being श्येत and रोहित ॥ The word आग्नेयः (= अग्नायी देवता अस्य स्थालीपाकस्य) is an exception to this rule.

Vârt:—The masculine-change takes place before the affixes ठक् and छस् ॥ As भवत्या छात्रा = भावत्काः, भवदीयाः ॥

क्यङ्मानिनोश्च ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यङ्, मानिनोः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यङि परतो मानिनि च स्त्रिया भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् पुंवद्भवति ॥

36. A feminine word not ending in ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed into masculine before the Denominative क्यङ्, and the affix मानिन् ॥

Thus from एनी—एतायते, श्येनी—श्येतायते ॥ मानिन् :—दर्शनीयमानी अयमस्याः "He esteems her as handsome". दर्शनीयमानिनीयमस्याः (इयम् अस्याः "She esteems her as handsome'. The word मानिन् is employed for the sake of non-feminine and non-appositional words. Thus non-feminine words:—दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तां =

दर्शनीयमानी अयमस्याः ॥ For non-appositional words :—as, दर्शनीयां मन्यते देवदत्तां यज्ञदत्ता=दर्शनीयमानिनी इयमस्याः ॥

न कोपधायाः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क, उपधायाः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कोपधायाः स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भावो न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कोपधप्रतिषेधे वु तद्धितग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

37. A Feminine word having a penultimate क्, does not assume the Masculine form.

Thus पाचिकाभार्यः, कारिकाभार्यः, वृजिकाभार्यः, मद्रिकाभार्यः, मद्रिकाकल्पा, मद्रिकायते ॥ वृजिकायते, मद्रिकामानिनी, वृजिकामानिनी, वैलेपिकं (वैलेपिकाया धर्म्यं). This rule is an exception to all the previous rules VI. 3. 34—36 : and not only to VI. 3. 34.

Vârt:—The rule applies to the क of the affix वु and the Taddhita क and not to every क ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाकभार्यः, भेकभार्यः ॥ The word पाका means "young"; and भेकी means 'action'.

संज्ञापूरण्योश्च ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा, पूरण्योः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाः पूरण्याश्च स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भावो न भवति ॥

38. The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numeral.

Thus दत्ताभार्यः । गुप्ताभार्यः । दत्तापाशा । गुप्तापाशा । दत्तायते । गुप्तायते । दत्तामानिनी । गुप्तामानिनी । पूरण्याः । पञ्चमीभार्यः । दशमीभार्यः । पञ्चमीपाशा । दशमीपाशा । पञ्चमीयते । दशमीयते । पञ्चमीमानिनी । दशमीमानिनी ॥

वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्यारक्तविकारे ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य, च, तद्धितस्य, अरक्तविकारे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिनिमित्तस्तद्धितः स यदि रक्तेऽर्थे विकारे च न विहितः, तदन्तस्य स्त्रीशब्दस्य न पुंवद्भवति ॥

39. The feminine is not changed into Masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix, which causes the Vṛiddhi of the first syllable, with the exception however of the Taddhitas meaning 'colored therewith', and 'made there of'.

Thus स्रौघ्नीभार्यः, माथुरीभार्यः, स्रौघ्नीपाशा, माथुरीपाशा, स्रौघ्नीयते, माथुरीयते, स्रौघ्नीमनिनी and माथुरीमानिनी ॥

Why do we say 'which causes Vriddhi'? Observe मध्यमभार्यः (मध्ये भवा =मध्यमा formed by the affix म IV. 3. 8 which does not canse Vṛiddhi). Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe काण्डलावभार्यः (काण्डं लुनाति=काण्डलावी with अण् (कर्मण्यण्) and ङीप्). Why do we say when not meaning 'colored there with' or 'made thereof'? Observe. कषायेण रक्ता=काषायी, काषायी वृहतिका यस्य= काषायवृहतिकः, लोहस्य विकारोलौही लौही ईषा यस्य रथस्य=लौहेषः (IV. 3. 134). The word वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrihi, and not a Tatpurusha, i. e. a taddhita affix, in which there is an element like ण् or ञ् or क् &c which causes

Vriddhi. Therefore this exception does not apply to तावद्भार्यः यावद्भार्यः (तावती भार्या यस्य &c). Here the affix वतुप् V. 2. 39 added to तद् does not cause Vriddhi by its own force, but by VI. 3. 91.

स्वाङ्गाच्चेतो ऽमानिनि ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गात्, च, इतः, अमानिनि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाङ्गादुत्तरो य ईकारस्तदन्तायाः स्त्रिया न पुंवद्भवति अमानिनि परतः ॥

40. A feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of body, does not become masculine, except when the word मानिन् follows.

Thus दीर्घकेशीभार्यः, शुक्लकेशीभार्यः, दीर्घकेशीपाशा, श्लक्ष्णकेशीपाशा, दीर्घकेशीयते, श्लक्ष्णकेशीयते, but पटुभार्यः (पटु not denoting any bodily member), अकेशभार्यः (अकेशा भार्या, not ending in long ई), and दीर्घकेशमानिनी ॥ The exception अमानिनि has been added from the Vârtika and is no part of the original sûtra.

जातेश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातेः, च, (न) (अमानिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातेश्च स्त्रिया न पुंवद्भवति अमानिनि परतः ॥

41. A feminine noun expressing a class or kind does not become masculine.

Thus कठीभार्यः, बह्वृचीभार्यः कठीपाशा, बह्वृचीपाशा, कठीयते, बह्वृचीयते ॥ But not so when मानिन् follows, as कठमानिनी, बह्वृचमानिनी ॥

The exception does not apply to हस्तिनीनां समूहः=हास्तिकम् ॥

पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुम्वत्, कर्मधारय, जातीय, देशीयेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारये समासे जातीय देशीय इत्येतयोश्च प्रत्यययोर्भाषितपुंस्कादनूनङ्स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कुक्कुट्यादीनामण्डादिषु पुंवद्भावो वक्तव्यः ॥

42. The feminine (unless it ends in ऊ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in a Karmadhâraya, and before जातीय and देशीय ॥

This sûtra is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding sûtras. Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate क (VI. 3. 37). Thus पाचकवृन्दारिका, पाचकजातीया, पाचकदेशीया ॥ It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI. 3. 38. Thus दत्तवृन्दारिका, दत्तजातीया, दत्तदेशीया, पंचमवृन्दारिका, पंचमजातीया, पंचमदेशीया ॥ It applies even in opposition to VI. 3. 39 : स्रौघ्नवृन्दारिका, स्रौघ्नजातीया, स्रौघ्नदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 40, as श्लक्ष्णमुखवृन्दारिका, श्लक्ष्णमुखजातीया and श्लक्ष्णमुखदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 41, as कठवृन्दारिका, कठजातीया, कठदेशीया ॥

The feminine must have a corresponding masculine (भाषितपुंस्क), So the rule does not apply खट्वावृन्दारिका, as खट्वा has no corresponding masculine. The feminine should not end in ऊ ; as ब्रह्मबन्धूवृन्दारिका ॥

Vârt :—The words कुक्कुटी &c become masculine before अण्ड &c : as, कुक्कुट्या अण्डं=कुक्कुटाण्डम् ॥ मृग्याः पदं=मृगपदम्, मृग्याः क्षीरं=मृगक्षीरम्, काक्याः शावः=काक-

शावः ॥ This rule need not be made, as the first member in these compounds may be considered as class denoting words of common gender.

Vârt :—When a word formed by an affix having an indicatory ख, or the affixes तर and तम &c (VI. 3. 43) follow, the final long vowel of the first term becomes short instead of its becoming masculine. As कालीमात्मानं मन्यते काल्येवाहम्=कालिमन्या (compare VI. 3. 66) हरिणिमन्या, पट्वितरा, पट्वितमा, पट्विरूपा, पट्विकल्पा, पट्विका, मृद्विका ॥ We have said that the rule does not apply to the feminines in ऊ ॥ The words इडविड्, दरद्, पृथ and उशिज are names of countries denoting Kshatriya clans. The tadrâja affix (VI. 1. 168 and 170), is elided in forming the feminine of these (IV. 1. 177). Thus we have the compouud of इडविड् वृन्दारिका ॥ When the first words become masculine, we have ऐडविड, दारद्, &c. Thus ऐडविडवृन्दारिका, औशिजवृन्दारिका ॥

घरूपकल्पचेलड्ब्रुवगोत्रमतहतेषु ङ्योऽनेकाचो ह्रस्वः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ, रूप, कल्प, चेलड, ब्रुव, गोत्र, मत, हतेषु, ङ्यः, अनेकाचः, ह्रस्वः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ रूप कल्प चेलट् ब्रुव गोत्र मत हत इत्येतेषु परतो भाषितपुंस्कात्परो यो ङीप्रत्ययस्तदन्तस्यानेकाचो ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

43. Before the affixes **तर, तम, रूप, कल्प,** before **चेल** (with the feminine in ई), **ब्रुव, गोत्र, मत** and **हत,** a word ending in the feminine affix **ङी** becomes short, when the feminine consists of two or more syllables, and has an equivalent and uniform masculine.

Thus घ—ब्राह्मणितरा, ब्राह्मणितमा ब्राह्मणिरूपा, ब्राह्मणिकल्पा, ब्राह्मणिचेली, ब्राह्मणिब्रुवा ब्राह्मणिगोत्रा, ब्राह्मणिमता and ब्राह्मणिहता ॥ घ, रूप and कल्प are affixes, चेलड् &c are words as second members; ब्रुवः is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) added to ब्रू, guṇa and वच substitution being prevented anomalously. Why do we say ending in ई (ङी)? Observe दत्तातरा, गुप्तातरा ॥ Why do we say consisting of more than one syllable? Because words of one syllable *optionally* become shortened by the next rule. Why do we say having a corresponding masculine? Observe आमलकीतरा कुवलीतरा, where आमलकी and कुवली have no equivalent masculine forms.

नद्याः शेषस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नद्याः, शेषस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नद्याः शेषस्य घादिषु परतो ह्रस्वो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् । कश्च शेषः । अङी च या नदी ङ्यन्तं च यदेकाच् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कृन्नद्याः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

44. In all the remaining feminine words called Nadî (I. 4. 3 and 4), the substitution of short vowel under the preceding circumstances is optional.

What are the शेष or the remnants? Those feminines which are not formed by long ई (ङी), and are called Nadî; and those feminines which end in long ई but consist of one syllable. Thus ब्रह्मबन्धूतरा or ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा वीरबधूतरा or वीरबन्धुतरा, स्त्रितरा or स्त्रीतरा, स्त्रितमा or स्त्रीतमा ॥

Vârt: – Nadî words formed by कृत् affixes are excepted: as लक्ष्मीतरा, तन्त्रीतरा formed by the Uṇâdi affix ई (Uṇ III. 158, 160)

उगितश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, (ह्रस्वः) (अन्यतरस्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उगितश्च परस्या नद्या घादिषु अन्यतरस्यां ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

45. The feminine ई (ङी) added to a word formed by a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory उ or ऋ, is optionally shortened before the घ &c (VI. 3. 43).

Thus श्रेयसितरा or श्रेयसीतरा, or श्रेयस्तरा, विदुषितरा or विदुषीतरा or विद्वत्तरा ॥ The first is formed by the Taddhita affix ईयसुन्, and the second by क्वसु ॥ In one alternative, there is masculisation also when we get the forms श्रेयस्तरा &c. Or this latter form may be considered to have been evolved from श्रेयस्, to which is added the affixes denoting comparison, and then the feminine affix, in denoting a feminine.

आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, महतः, समानाधिकरण, जातीययोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानाधिकरणउत्तरपदे जातीये च प्रत्यये परतो महत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ महदात्वे घासकराविशिष्टेषूपसंख्यानं पुंवद्वचनं चासमानाधिकरणार्थम् ॥

वा० ॥ अष्टनः कपाले हविष्युपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ गवि च युक्ते ऽष्टन उपसंख्यान कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

46. For the final of महत्, is substituted आत् (आ) before a word which is in apposition with it and before जातीय ॥

As महादेवः, महाब्राह्मणः, महाबाहुः, महाबलः, महाजातीयः ॥ But महतः पुत्रः = महत्पुत्रः "the son of the great man": the two words are not in apposition. The compounding with महत् takes place under II. 1. 61. This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to Bahuvrihis, when also the two words are in apposition, as in महाबाहुः ॥ In fact this is the object of using the word samânâdhikarana in this sûtra. Had it not been used, then by the maxim of pratipadokta, the rule would have applied only to the Tatpurasha compounds of mahat taught under II. 1. 61 but not to Bahuvrihis. In महद्भूतश्चन्द्रमा = अमहान् महान् संपन्नः, the long आ is not substituted, as the sense of महत् is here secondary.

Vart :—आ is substituted for the final of महत् before घास, कर and विशिष्ट, the feminine महती being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition. As महत्या घासः = महाघासः, महत्याः करः = महाकरः, महत्याविशिष्टः = महाविशिष्टः ॥

Vârt :—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before कपाल, when a sacrificial offering is meant. As अष्टाकपालं चरुं निर्वपेत ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe अष्टकपालं ब्राह्मणस्य ॥

Vârt:—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before गो, when the meaning is that of 'yoked'. As, अष्टागवेन शकटेन ॥ But अष्टगवं ब्राह्मणस्य, where 'yoking' is not meant. The त् in आत् is for the sake of distinctness.

द्व्यष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यष्टनः, संख्यायाम्, अबहुव्रीहि, अशीत्योः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि अष्टन् इत्येतयोराकारादेशो भवति संख्यायामुत्तरपदे अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्राक् शतादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. आ is substituted for the final of द्वि and अष्टन् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrîhi or before अशीति ॥

Thus द्वादश, द्वाविंशतिः, द्वात्रिंशत्, अष्टादश, अष्टाविंशतिः, अष्टात्रिंशत् ॥ Why do we say द्वि and अष्टन्? Observe पञ्चदश ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a Numeral'? Observe द्वैमातुरः, आष्टमातुरः ॥ Why do we say 'not when the compound is a Bahuvrîhi, or the word अशीति follows'? Observe द्वित्राः, त्रिदशाः, द्व्यशीतिः ॥

Vârt:—This rule applies upto one hundred. Therefore not here, द्विशतम्, द्विसहस्रम्, अष्टशतम्, अष्टसहस्रम् ॥

त्रेस्त्रयः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, त्रयस्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रि इत्येतस्य त्रयमित्ययमादेशो भवति संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥

48. For त्रि is substituted त्रयस् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrîhi or before अशीतिः ॥

As, त्रयोदश, त्रयोविंशतिः, त्रयस्त्रिंशत् ॥ But not in त्रैमातुरः (the second word not being a Numeral), nor in त्रिदशाः which is a Bahuvrihi, (II. 2. 25) त्र्यशीति ॥ This substitution takes place upto hundred: not here, त्रिशतम्, त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, चत्वारिंशत्, प्रभृतौ, सर्वेषाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ संख्यायामुत्तरपदे ऽबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः सर्वेषां द्व्यष्टन् त्रि इत्येतेषां यदुक्तं तद्विभाषा भवति ॥

49. The above substitution in the case of all (द्वि, त्रि and अष्टन्), is optional, when the word चत्वारिंशत् and the numerals which follow it are the second member.

Thus द्विचत्वारिंशत or द्वाचत्वारिंशत्, त्रिपञ्चाशत् or त्रयःपञ्चाशत्, अष्टपञ्चाशत् or अष्टापञ्चाशत् ॥ This also before hundred: as, द्विशतम् and अष्टशतम्, त्रिशतम् ॥

हृदयस्य हृल्लेखयदण्लासेषु ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदयस्य, हृत्, लेख, यत्, अण्, लासे षु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृदयस्य हृदित्ययमादेशो भवति लेख यत् अण् लास इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

50. हृद् is substituted for हृदय, before लेख, and the affixes यत् and अण् and before लास ॥

Thus हृदयं लिखति = हृल्लेखः, हृदयस्य प्रियं = हृद्यम्, हृदयस्येदम् = हार्दम्, हृदयस्य लासो = हृल्लासः ॥ The word लेख is derived by अण् affix from लिख् ॥ Before the word लेख formed by घञ् affix, this substitution does not take place, as हृदयलेखः ॥ The inclusion of लेख in this sûtra proves the existence of this maxim "उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्तग्रहणम्" ॥ See VI. 3. 17.

वा शोकष्यञ्रोगेषु ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, शोक, ष्यञ्, रोगेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोक ष्यञ् रोग इत्येतेषु परतो हृदयस्य वा हृदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

51. हृद् is optionally the substitute for हृदय, when the words शोक, and रोग or the affix ष्यङ् follows.

Thus हृच्छोकः or हृदयशोकः, सौहार्द्यम् or सौहृदय्यम् ॥ Here ष्यङ् is added as हृदय belongs to Brâhmaṇâdi class V. 1. 124. When हृद् is substituted there is Vriddhi of both the members सु and हृ by VII. 3. 19. So also हृद्रोगः or हृदयरोगः ॥ All these forms could have been got from हृत् which is a *full* word *sui generis*, having the same meaning as हृदयः ॥ The substitution taught in this sûtra is rather unnecessary.

पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पादस्य, पत्, आजि, आति, ग, उपहतेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादस्य पद इत्ययमादेशो भवति आजि आति ग उपहत इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु ॥

52. पद् is substituted for पाद, before आजि, आति, ग and उपहत ॥

Thus पदाजिः = पादाभ्यामजति ; पदातिः = पादाभ्यामतति ॥ आजिः and आतिः are formed by इण् from अज and अत् (Uṇ IV. 131), and irregularly अज् is not changed to वी though required by II. 4. 56 ; before this affix. So also पद्गः = पादाभ्यां गच्छति ; पदोपहतः = पादेनोपहतः ॥ पाद belongs to Vrishâdi class (VI. 1. 203) and has therefore acute on the first syllable, the पद् substitute however has acute on the final, only in the उपदेश (VI. 1. 171), therefore in पदोपहतः, पद् retains its accent (VI. 2. 48), and it becomes acute on the final. While पदाजिः, पदातिः and पद्गः have acute on the final (VI. 1. 223 and krit-accent).

पद्यत्यतदर्थे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद, यति, अतदर्थे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यत्प्रत्यये परतः पादस्य पदित्ययमादेशो भवत्यतदर्थे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पद्भावे इके चरतावुपसंख्यानम् ॥

53. पद् is substituted for पाद before the affix यत् used in any sense other then that of "suited there to.;

Thus पादौविध्यन्ति = पद्याः शर्कराः, पद्याः कण्टकाः ॥ When यत् has the force of "suited there to" we have पाद्यम् = पादार्थमुदकं ॥ (see IV. 4. 83 and V. 4. 25).

Vart:—Before the affix इक्, in the sense of 'he walks there by', पद् is substituted for पाद; as पादाभ्यां चरति = पदिकः (IV. 4. 10) by ष्ठन् affix. The word पाद in this sûtra means 'the actual foot', a part of animal organism. Therefore पद् is not substituted before the यत् of V. I. 34, as द्विपाद्यम्, त्रिपाद्यम् because पाद here denotes ,a measure'.

हिमकाषिहतिषु च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिम, काषि, हतिषु, च, (पद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिम काषिन् हति इत्येतेषु पादशब्दस्य पदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

54. पद् is substituted for पाद before हिम, काषिन् and हति ॥

Thus पद्धिमम्, (= पादस्य शीतं) पत्काषिन् (= पादचारिणः) as in अथ पत्काषिणा यान्ति, and पद्धतिः (पादाभ्यां हन्यते) ॥

ऋचः शे ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋचः, शे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋक्संबन्धिनः पादशब्दस्य शे परतः पदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

55. पद् is the substitute for पाद before the affix शस्, when the meaning is that of a Hymn (Rik).

Thus पच्छो गायत्रीं शंसति = पादं पादं शंसति, the affix शस् being added by V. 4. 43. Why do we say 'when meaning a Hymn'? Observe पादशः कार्षापणं ददाति ॥

वा घोषमिश्रशब्देषु ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, घोष, मिश्र, शब्देषु, (पद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घोष मिश्र शब्द इत्येतेषु चोत्तरपदेषु पादस्य वा पदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निष्के चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

56. This substitution of पद् for पाद is optional before घोष, मिश्र and शब्द ॥

Thus पद्घोषः or पादघोषः, पन्मिश्रः or पादमिश्रः, पच्छब्दः or पादशब्दः ॥

Vârt:—So also before निष्कः as पन्निष्कः or पादनिष्कः ॥

उदकस्योदः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदकस्य, उदः, संज्ञायाम् (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदकशब्दस्य संज्ञायां विषये उद इत्ययमादेशो भवति उत्तरपदे परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संज्ञायामुत्तरपदस्य उदकशब्दस्य उदादेशो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

57. उद is substituted for उदक, when the compound is a Name.

Thus उदमेघः 'a person called Udamegha', उदवाहः "a person named Udavâhah." The well-known Patronymics from these are औदमेघिः and औदवाहिः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name'? Observe उदकगिरिः ॥

Vârt—उद is the substitute for उदक when it stands as the second member of a compound and denotes a Name: as, लोहितोदः, नीलोदः, क्षीरोदः ॥

पेषंवासवाहनधिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पेषम्, वास, वाहन, धिषु, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पेषं वास वाहन धि इत्येतेषु चोत्तरपदेषु उदकस्य उद इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

58. उद is substituted for उदक before पेषं, वास, वाहन्, and धि ॥

Thus उदपेषं पिनष्टि formed by णमुल् by III. 4. 38; उदवासः = उदकस्यवासः, so also उदवाहनः ॥ उदकं धीयतेऽस्मिन् = उदधिः 'a water jar'.

एकहलादौ पूरयितव्ये ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, हलादौ, पूरयितव्ये, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल् आदिर्यस्योत्तरपदस्य तदेकहलादि तस्मिन्नेकहलादौ पूरयितव्यवाचिन्यन्यतरस्यामुदकस्य उद इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

59. उद is optionally substituted for उदक, before a word biginning with a single consonant, and which expresses that which is filled with water.

Thus उदकुम्भः, or उदककुम्भः, उदपात्रम् or उदकपात्रम् ॥ The word एकहलादि means 'a word beginning with a single simple consonant'. The rule does not apply to उदकस्थालम् as the second member begins with a conjunct consonant: nor to उदकपर्वतः, as the पर्वतः is not a vessel which is to be filled.

मन्थौदनसक्तुबिन्दुवज्रभारहारवीवधगाहेषु च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्थ, ओदन, सक्तु, बिन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, गाहेषु, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्थ ओदन सक्तु बिन्दु वज्र भार हार वीवध गाह इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषूदकस्य उद इत्ययमादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

60. उद is optionally substituted for उदक, before मन्थ, ओदन, सक्तु, बिन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, and गाह ॥

Thus उदकेन मन्थः = उदमन्थ or उदकमन्थः । उदकेनौदन, उदौदनः or उदकौदनः । सक्तु । उदकेन सक्तुः, उदसक्तु or उदकसक्तुः । बिन्दु । उदकस्य बिन्दुः, उदबिन्दुः or उदकबिन्दुः । वज्र । उदकस्य वज्रः, उदवज्रः or उदकवज्रः । भार । उदकं बिभर्तीति उदभारः or उदकभारः । हार । उदकं हरतीति, उदहारः or उदकहारः । वीवध । उदकस्य वीवध, उदवीवधः or उदकवीवधः । गाह । उदकं गाहत इति, उदगाहः or उदकगाहः ॥

इको ह्रस्वोऽङ्यो गालवस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, ह्रस्वः, अङ्यः, गालवस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्याङ्यन्तस्योत्तरपदे ह्रस्वो भवति गालवस्याचार्यस्य मतेनान्यतरस्याम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भ्रूकुंसादीनामकारो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

61. According to the opinion of Gâlava, a short vowel is substituted, in a compound, before the second member, for the long इक् vowels (ई, ऊ, ॠ), unless it is the long vowel of the Feminine affix ई (ङी).

In other words, for ई, when it is not the Feminine affix ई (ङी) and for ऊ, a short इ and उ are substituted in a compound before the second member. Thus ग्रामणिपुत्रः or ग्रामणीपुत्रः, ब्रह्मबन्धुपुत्रः or ब्रह्मबन्धूपुत्रः ॥ Why do we say इक् vowels? Observe खट्वापादः, मालापादः ॥ Why do we say 'not the long ई of the Feminine affix ङी'? Observe गार्गीपुत्रः, वात्सीपुत्रः ॥ The name of Gâlava is mentioned pujârtha for the anuvritti of 'optionally' was present in this sûtra. It is a limited option

pujârtha, (vyavasthita vibhâsha), and does not apply to कारीषगन्धीपति &c which are governed by VI. 3. 139.

Vârt:—It does not apply to Avyayîbhâva compounds, nor to those words which take इयङ् or उवङ् augment in their declension, as श्रीकुलम्, भ्रूकुलम्, काण्डीभूतम्, कुडयीभूतं, वृषलीभूतम् ॥

Vart:—It does however apply to भ्रुकुंस &c, as भ्रुकुंसः, भ्रुकुटिः ॥ Others say भ is substituted for भ्र &c as भ्रकुंसः and भ्रकुटिः

एक तद्धिते च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक तद्धिते, च, (ह्रस्वः) (उत्तरपदे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकशब्दस्य तद्धिते उत्तरपदे ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

62. The short is substituted for the long of एका, before a Taddhita affix, and when a second member follows.

As एकस्या आगतं = एकरूप्यम्, एकमयम्, एकस्या भावः = एकत्वम्, एकता ॥ So also एकस्याः क्षीरं = एकक्षीरम्, एकदुग्धम् ॥ The shortening takes place of the Feminine word एका, having the affix आ ॥ When एक is an adjective (गुणवचन) then the above forms could be evolved by the help of the rules of masculation, such as VI. 3. 35, i. e. when एक means the numeral one. But when it means 'alone', then those rules will not apply. The word एक is exhibited in the sûtra without any case-affix as a Chhandas irregularity. The examples given are of एका in the feminine which alone can be shortened, and not of एक whose final is already short. Nor can the rule of shortening be applied to ए of एक, for the rule applies to the *final* letter, aud not to a vowel situeated in the body of a word.

ङ्यापोः संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङ्यापोः, संज्ञा, छन्दसोः, बहुलम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ङ्यन्तस्याबन्तस्य च संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलं ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

63. The short is diversely substituted for the feminine affixes ई and आ (ङी and आप्) in a Name and in the Vedas.

As रेवतिपुत्रः, रोहिणिपुत्रः, भरणिपुत्रः ॥ Sometimes not, as नान्दीकरः, नान्दीघोषः, नान्दीविशालः ॥ So also in the Vedas, as कुमारिदारा, प्रशर्विदा; sometimes the shortening does not take place, as फाल्गुनीपौर्णमासी, जगतीछन्दः ॥ आप् ending words in Name: शिलवहम्, शिलप्रस्थम्; sometimes there is no shortening, as, लोमकागृहम्, लोमकाखण्डम् ॥ So also in the Vedas:—अजक्षीरेण जुहोति, ऊर्णम्रदा पृथिवीं विश्वधायसम् ॥ Sometimes there is no shortening, as, ऊर्णासूत्रेण कवयो वयन्ति ॥

त्वे च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वे, च, (ह्रस्वः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ त्वप्रत्यये परतो ङ्यापोर्बहुलं ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

64. The feminine affixes ई and आ diversely become short, before the affix त्व ॥

Thus अजाया भावः = अजत्वं or अजात्वं, रोहिणित्वं or रोहिणीत्वम् ॥ These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in त्व ॥

इष्टकेषीकामालानां चिततूलभारिषु ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्ट का, इषी का, माला-नाम्, चित, तूल, भारिषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टकेषीकामालानां चित तूल भारिन् इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु यथासंख्य ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

65. For the long vowel, a short is substituted, in **इष्टका** before **चित**, in **इषीका** before **तूल**, and in **माला** before **भारिन्** ॥

Thus इष्टकचितम्, इषीकतूलम् and मालभारिणी कन्या ॥ The rule of tadanta applies to इष्टका &c, so that the compounds ending in इष्टका &c are also governed by this rule : as पक्वेष्टकचितम्, मुञ्जेषीकतूलम्, उत्पलमालभारिणी कन्या ॥

खित्यनव्ययस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ खिति, अनव्ययस्य, (ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खिदन्तउत्तरपदे ऽनव्ययस्य ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

66. A short is always substituted for the final of the first member, when the second member is a word formed by an affix having an indicatory **ख**, but not when the first member is an Indeclinable.

Thus कालिमन्या, हरिणिमन्या ॥ The augment मुम् does not prevent the shortening, had it done so, the rule would have been unnecessary. But दोषा-मन्यमहः, दिवामन्यारात्रिः, where दोषा and दिवा are Indeclinables there is no shortening. The above words are formed by खश् (III. 2. 83). The phrase anavyayasya indicates by implication that the word खित् here means खिदन्तः, contrary to the maxim enunciated in VI. 3. 17 उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिर्नेष्यते ॥ For an Avyaya can never take a खित् affix which are ordained only after dhâtus.

अरुर्द्विषदजन्तस्य मुम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अरुस्, द्विषत्, अजन्तस्य, मुम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अरुस् द्विषत् इत्येतयोरजन्तानां च खिदन्तउत्तरपदे मुमागमो भवति अनव्ययस्य ॥

67. **मुम्** is the augment added immediately after the final vowel, of **अरुस**, **द्विषत्**, and of a stem ending in a vowel, unless it is an Indeclinable, when a word formed by a **खित्** affix follows.

Thus अरुन्तुदः, द्विषन्तपः, कालिंमन्या &c. See III. 2. 35, 39, 83. The स् of अरुस and the त् of द्विषत् are dropped by VIII. 2. 23.

Why do we say 'of अरुस् &c'? Observe विद्वन्मन्या ॥ Why do we say 'not an Indeclinable'? Observe दोषामन्यमहः, दिवामन्यारात्रिः ॥ Why do we use the word अन्त in अजन्त, when merely saying अचः would have sufficed by the rule of tadanta-vidhi? This indicates that the shortening taught in the preceding sûtra does not debar the मुम् augment, nor does मुम debar the shortening. So that मुम् is added after the shortening has taken place.

इच एकाचोऽम्प्रत्ययवच्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इचः, एकाचः, अम्, प्रत्ययवत्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजन्तस्य एकाचः खिदन्तउत्तरपदे ऽमागमो भवति अम्प्रत्ययवच्चद्वितीयैकवचनवच्च स भवति ॥

68. A monosyllabic word, ending in any vowel other than अ, when followed by a word formed by a खित् affix, receives the augment अम्, which is added in the same way as the affix अम् of the Accusative singular.

The word अम् is to be repeated here thus, इच एकाचोऽम्, अम्प्रत्ययवच्च ॥ Thus गांमन्यः, स्त्रींमन्यः, or स्त्रियंमन्यः, श्रियंमन्यः, भ्रुवंमन्यः ॥ By force of the atideśa अम्प्रत्ययवत्, the changes produced by the Accusative ending are caused by this augment also : viz : the substitution of long आ, the substitution of a vowel homogenous with the first, the guṇa, the substitutes इयङ् and उवङ् As आ—गांमन्यः (VI. 1. 93); पूर्वसवर्ण as स्त्रींमन्यः (VI. 1. 107); guṇa, as,—नरंमन्यः (VII. 3. 110) and इयङ् and उवङ्, as श्रियंमन्यः, भ्रुवंमन्यः (VI. 4. 81 &c). Why do we say ending in a vowel other than अ (इच्)? Observe स्वन्मन्यः ॥ Why do we say 'a monosyllable'? Observe लेखाभ्रुं मन्याः ॥

The affix अम् is elided after a Neuter noun (VII. 1. 23), therefore, will this अम् also be elided when श्री is treated as Neuter? As श्रियमात्मानं मन्यते ब्राह्मणकुलं = श्रियंमन्यम् or श्रिमन्यम्? The second is the valid form according to Patanjali.

वाचंयमपुरंदरौ च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचंयम, पुरन्दरौ, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाचंयम पुरंदर इत्येतौ निपात्येते ॥

69. **वाचंयम** and **पुरन्दर** are irregularly formed.

Thus वाचंयमः आस्ते (III. 2. 40 खच् affix). पुरं दारयति = पुरन्दरः (III. 2. 42). The shortening of याम and दार takes place by VI. 4. 94.

कारे सत्यागदस्य ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कारे, सत्य, अगदस्य, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कारशब्दउत्तरपदे सत्य अगद इत्येतयोर्मुमागमो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अस्तुसत्यागदस्य कारइति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भक्षस्य छन्दसि कारे मुम वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ धेनोर्भव्यायां मुम्वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ लोकस्य पृणे मुम्वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ इत्ये ऽनभ्याशस्य मुम्वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ भ्राष्ट्राग्न्योरिन्धे मुम्वक्तव्य ॥
वा० ॥ गिले ऽगिलस्य मुम्वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ गिलगिले चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ उष्णभद्रयोः करणे मुम्वक्तव्यः ॥ सुतोमराजभोजमेर्वित्ये तेभ्य उत्तरस्य दुहितृशब्दस्य पुत्त्रडादेशो वा वक्तव्यः ॥

70. **मुम्** is the augment of **सत्य** and **अगद** when the word **कार** follows.

As सत्यंकारः = सत्यंकरोति or सत्यस्यकारः ॥ So also अगदंकारः ॥

Vârt:—So also of अस्तु, as अस्तुंकारः ॥

Vârt:—So also in Vedas, of भक्ष before कारः—e. g. भक्षंकार, in secular language भक्षकारः ॥

Vârt:—Of धेनु before भव्या, e. g. धेनुंभव्या ॥

Vârt:—Of लोक before पृण, e. g. लोकंपृणा ॥

Vârt :—Of अनभ्याश before इत्य as अनभ्याशमित्यः ॥

Vârt :—Of भ्राष्ट्र and अग्नि, before इन्धः, as भ्राष्ट्रमिन्धः, अग्निमिन्धः ॥

Vârt :—A word before गिल takes मुम् augment, unless it is also गिल e. g. तिमिङ्गिलः, but गिलगिलः ॥

Vârt :—So also before गिलगिल, e. g. तिमिङ्गिलगिलः ॥

Vârt :—Of उष्ण and भद्र before करण, e. g. उष्णं करणं, भद्रंकरणं ॥

Vârt :—पुत्रड् is optionally the substitute of दुहितृ when the words सूत, उग्र, राज, भोज, and मेरु precede it e. g. सूतपुत्री or सूतदुहिता, उग्रपुत्री or उग्रदुहिता, राजपुत्री or राजदुहिता, भोजपुत्री or भोजदुहिता, मेरुपुत्री or मेरुदुहिता ॥ Some read पुत्र in the Śâran-garavâdi class (IV. 1. 73), and then this word has its feminine पुत्री ॥ This is seen in other places also, e. g. शैलपुत्री ॥

श्येनतिलस्य पाते ञे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्येन, तिलस्य, पाते, ञे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्येन तिलइत्येतयोः पातशब्दउत्तरपदे ञप्रत्यये ममागमो भवति ॥

71. मुम् is the augment of the words श्येन and तिल, before पात, when the affix ञ is added.

Thus श्येनपातोऽस्यां क्रीडायां = श्येनंपाता, तैलंपाता ॥ See IV. 2. 58. Why do we say before ञ ? Observe श्येनपातः ॥

रात्रेः कृति विभाषा ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, कृति, विभाषा, (मुम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रात्रेः कृदन्तउत्तरपदे विभाषा मुमागमो भवति ॥

72. The word रात्रि optionally takes मुम् before a word formed by kṛt-affix.

As रात्रिंचरः or रात्रिचरः, रात्रिमटः or राज्यटः ॥ This is an aprâpta-vibhâshâ. The augment is compulsory before a kṛit-affix having an indicatory ख, As, रात्रिंमन्यः ॥

नलोपो नञः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लोपः, नञः, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञो नकारस्य लोपो भवत्युत्तरपदे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नञो नलोपो ऽवक्षेपे तिङ्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

The न of the Negative particle नञ्, is elided when it is the first member of a compound.

Thus अब्राह्मणः, अवृषलः, असुरापः, असोमपः ॥

Vârt :—The न of नञ् is elided before a verb also, when reproach is meant : as, अपचसि त्वं जाल्मः, अकरोषि त्वं जाल्मः ॥

तस्मान्नुडचि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, नुट्, अचि, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्माल्लुप्तनकारान्नञः नुडागमो भवति अजादावुत्तरपदे ॥

74. After the above न-elided नञ् (i. e. after अ) is added the augment नुट्, to a word beginning with a vowel.

Thus अनजः, अनश्वः, अनुष्ट्रः ॥ Why do we use तस्मात् "after such a नञ्"? Otherwise नुट् would have been the augment of नञ्, and not of the subsequent

word for: the sûtra would have read thus नुडाचे ॥ Adding नुट् to नञ् or rather to अ, we have अन् (granting that नुट् is not to be added *before* अ but *after* it, against I. 1. 46). Now अन्+अजः will be अन्नजः and not अनजः for VIII. 3. 32 will cause the doubling of the final न् of अन् ॥ Hence to prevent this contingency, नुट् is ordained with regard to the second member and not with regard to अ or नञ् ॥

नभ्राण्नपान्नवेदानासत्या नमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्रकृत्या ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नभ्राट्, नपात्, नवेदा, नासत्या, नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र, नाकेषु, प्रकृत्या, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नभ्राट् नपात् नवेदाः नासत्या नमुचि नकुल नख नपुंसक नक्षत्र नख नक्र नाक इत्येतेषु नञ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

75. The Negative particle remains unchanged in **नभ्राज्, नपात्, नवेदस्, नासत्या** (dual), **नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र** and **नाक** ॥

Upto नासत्या the words are exhibited in the Nominative case in the sûtra, the rest are exhibited in the Locative! नभ्राजते=नभ्राट्, formed by क्विप् and नञ् composition. न पाति=नपात् formed by शतृ affix. न वेत्ति=नवेदा, formed by असुन् ॥ सन्तु साधवः=सत्याः, न सत्याः=असत्याः, न असत्याः=नासत्याः ॥ न मुञ्चति=न मुचि, formed by कि affix (Uṇadi), नास्य कुलमस्ति=नकुलः ॥ नास्य खमस्ति=नखम् ॥ न स्त्री न पुमान्=नपुंसकम् ॥ न क्षरते क्षीयते वा=नक्षत्रम् ॥ न क्रामति=नक्र by ड affix. न अस्मिन् अकम्=नाकम् ॥

एकादिश्चैकस्य चादुक् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकादिः, च, एकस्य, च, अदुक्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एकादिश्च नञ्प्रकृत्या भवति एकशब्दस्यादुगागमो भवति ॥

76. The Negative particle remains unchanged in a word which begins with **एक**, and of this **एक**, there is the augment **अदुक्** (**अद्**).

Thus एकेन न विंशतिः=एकान्नविंशतिः, एकान्नत्रिंशत् ॥ These are Instrumental compounds. The augment आदुक् is added to the final of the first member, so that we have optionally two forms एकात् न विंशतिः and एकान् न विंशति by VIII. 4. 45.

नगोऽप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नगः, अप्राणिषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

77. The Negative particle is optionally retained unchanged in **नग**, when it does not mean a living animate being.

Thus नगाः or अगाः 'trees', or 'mountains', literally 'what do not move'. The affix ड is added to गम् ॥ Why do we say when not referring

to animate beings. Observe अगः वृषलः शीतेन ॥ No alternative form is allowed here.

सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्य, सः, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहशब्दस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

78. स is substituted for सह, in a Name.

Thus साश्वत्थम्, सपलाशम्, साशिंशपम् ॥ Why when it is a Name? Observe सहयुध्वा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The word सँह has acute on the first syllable, because all Particles have acute on the first syllable. The substitute स coming in the room of the acute स and the grave ह, will have an accent mid-way between सँ acute and ह grave, namely, it would have the svarita accent. But, as a matter of fact, it has the acute accent. As सँपुत्रः, सँभार्यः ॥ These are Bahuvrîhi. In Avyayîbhâva, the samâsa-accent will prevail (VI. 1. 223), as सेष्टिँ, सपशुबन्धँम् ॥

ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रन्थान्त, अधिके, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रन्थान्ते ऽधिके च वर्त्तमानस्य सहशब्दस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

79. स is the substitute for सह, when it has the sense of 'upto the end' (in connection with a literary work), or 'more'.

Thus सकलं = कलान्तं ज्योतिषमधीते ॥ So also समुहूर्तम् = (मुहूर्तान्तम्) ॥ स संग्रह (= संग्रहान्तम्) व्याकरणमधीते ॥ These are all Avyayîbhâva compounds by ° अन्तवचने (II. 1. 6). Therefore, when a word, denoting time, is the second member, सह would not be changed to स, because of the prohibition in VI. 3. 81. The present sûtra removes that prohibition by anticipation, with regard to time-denoting words even, when the meaning is that 'of the end of a book'. When the sense is that of 'more', we have सद्रोणाखारी, समाषः कार्षापणः सकाकिणीको माषः ॥

द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीये, च, अनुपाख्ये, (सहस्यसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये ऽनुपाख्ये सहस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

80. स is the substitute for सह, when it is in connection with a word which refers to a second object, which latter however is not directly perceived.

Of the two things which are generally found co-existing, the non-principal is called the 'second' or द्वितीय ॥ That which is perceived, observed or is known is called उपाख्य, that which is not perceived &c is अनुपाख्य, i. e. what is to be inferred. That is, when the second object is to be inferred from the presence of the first, स is added to such second word. Thus साग्निः (कपोतः) 'a pigeon which points out that conflagration has taken place some where'. सपिशाचा वात्या "a storm-wind which announces the Piśâchas". सराक्षसीका शाला ॥ Here the fire, the Piśâcha or the Râkshasas are not directly perceived, but their existence is inferred from the presence of the pigeon &c.

अव्ययीभावे चाकाले ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावे, च, अकाले, (सहस्यसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावे च समासे ऽकालवाचिन्युत्तरपदे सहस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

81. **स** is the substitute of **सह**, in an Avyayîbhâva when the second member is not a word denoting time.

Thus सचक्रंधेहि, मधुरं प्राजः, but सहपूर्वाह्णम् the second member being a time denoting word (II. 1. 5).

वोपसर्जनस्य ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, उपसर्जनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वोपसर्जनो बहुव्रीहिर्गृह्यते । तदवयवस्य सहशब्दस्य वा स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

82. **स** is optionally the substitute of **सह**, when the compound is a Bahuvrîhi.

That compound in which all members are secondary—उपसर्जन—is a सर्वोपसर्जन, and the Bahuvrîhi is such a compound, because in it all the members are secondary, the Principal being understood. Thus सपुत्रः or सहपुत्रः, सच्छात्रः or सहच्छात्रः ॥ Why do we say of a Bahuvrîhi? Observe सहयुध्वा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrîhi like सहकृत्वप्रियः or सहयुद्धप्रियः ॥

प्रकृत्याशिष्यगोवत्सहलेषु ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, आशिषि, अ, गोवत्सहलेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या सहशब्दो भवति आशिषि विषये ऽगोवत्सहलेषु ॥

83. The word **सह** retains its original form when the sentence denotes benediction, except when it is **गो**, **वत्स** or **हल** ॥

Thus स्वस्ति देवदत्ताय सहपुत्राय, सहच्छात्राय, सहामात्याय ॥ But optionally here, as स्वस्ति भवते सहगवे or सगवे, सहवत्साय or सवत्साय, सहहलाय, or सहलाय ॥ The phrase अगोवत्सहलेषु is no part of the original sûtra, but has been added by the Kâśikâ from a Vârtika.

समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्द्धप्रभृत्युदर्केषु ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ समानस्य, छन्दसि, अ, मूर्द्ध, प्रभृति, उदर्केषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये मूर्द्धन् प्रभृति उदर्क इत्येतान्युत्तरपदानि वर्ज्जयित्वा ॥

84. **स** is the substitute of **समान** in the Chhandas, but not before **मूर्धन्**, **प्रभृति** and **उदर्क** ॥

Thus अनुभ्राता सगर्भ्यः, अनुसखा सयूथ्यः, योनः सनुत्यः (See IV. 4. 114). समानो गर्भः = सगर्भः, तत्र भवः = सगर्भ्यः formed by यत् affix IV. 4. 114. But समानमूर्द्धा, समानप्रभृतयः, समानोदर्काः ॥ This substitution takes place in secular literature also, as सपक्षः, साधर्म्यम्, सजातीयः &c.

ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयोवचनबन्धुषु ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्योतिः, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नाम, गोत्ररूप, स्थान, वर्ण, वयोवचन, बन्धुषु, (समानस्यसः)

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्योतिस् जनपद रात्रि नाभि नामन् गोत्र रूप स्थान वर्ण वयस् वचन बन्धु इत्येतेषूत्तरपदेषु समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

85. This substitution of स for समान् takes place before ज्योतिस्, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नामन्, गोत्र, रूप, स्थान वर्ण, वयस्, वचन and बन्धु in the common language also.

Thus सज्योतिः, सजनपदः, सरात्रिः, सनाभिः, सनामा, सगोत्रः, सरूपः, सस्थानः, सवर्णः, सवयाः, सवचनः, सबन्धुः ॥

चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरणे, ब्रह्मचारिणि, (समानस्यसः)(उत्तरपदे)

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणे गम्यमाने ब्रह्मचारिण्युत्तरपदे समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

86. स is substituted for समान before ब्रह्मचारिन् when it denotes persons engaged in fulfilling a common vow of studying the Vedas.

Thus समानो ब्रह्मचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥ ब्रह्म means the Vedas. The vow of studying the Veda, is also called ब्रह्म ॥ He who is engaged in the performance of that vow is called ब्रह्मचारिन् ॥ समान refers to the vow, the vow of studying being common to both : i. e. समाने ब्रह्मणि व्रतचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥ According to Bhattoji Dikshit चरणे in the sûtra means a शाखा or a department of Vedic study. He who has a common (samâna) branch (charaṇa) is a sabrahmchârî.

तीर्थे ये ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तीर्थे, ये, (समानस्यसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तीर्थशब्दउत्तरपदे यत्प्रत्ययपरे परतः समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

87. स is substituted for समान, before तीर्थ when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सतीर्थ्यः = समाने तीर्थे वासी (IV. 4. 107). 'a fellow-student ?

विभाषोदरे ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उदरे, (समानस्यसः) (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदरशब्दउत्तरपदे यत्प्रत्ययान्ते समानस्य विभाषा स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

88. The substitution of स for समान is optional before उदर when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सोदर्यः or समानोदर्यः (IV. 4. 108).

दृग्दृशवतुषु ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृक्, दृश, वतुषु, (समानस्यसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृक् दृश वतु इत्येतेषु परतः समानस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दृक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ दृशेः क्सप्रत्ययोपि तत्रैव वक्तव्यः ॥

89. स is substituted for समान, before दृक्, दृश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus सदृक्, सदृशः ॥ The affixes कञ् and क्विन् are added to दृश् under III. 2. 60. *Vârt*:—which give as the forms दृक् and दृश ॥ *Vârt*:—So also before दृक्ष : as सदृक्षः ॥ दृक्ष is formed by क्स affix under III. 2. 60. Vârtika. The affix वतु is taken for the sake of the subsequent sûtra.

इदंकिमोरीश्की ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ इदम्, किमोः, ईश, की, (दृग्दृशवतुषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इदं किम् इत्येतयोरीश् की इत्येतौ यथासंख्यमादेशौ भवतो दृग्दृशवतुषु ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दृक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

90. ई is substituted for इदम् and की for किम् before the words दृक्, दृश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus ईदृक्, ईदृशः and इयान्, कीदृक्, कीदृशः and कियान् ॥ ईवत् and कीवत् are changed to ई + इयत् and का + इयत् by V. 2. 40 and the long ई is elided by VI. 4. 148: and we get इयत् and कियत् ॥

Vârt :—So also before दृक्ष, as ईदृक्षः and कीदृक्षः ॥

आ सर्वनाम्नः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, सर्वनाम्नः, (दृग्दृशवतुषु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम्न आकारादेशो भवति दृग्दृशवतुषु ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दृक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

91. आ is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (I. 1. 27) before these words दृक्, दृश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus तादृक्, तादृशः, तावान्, यादृक्, यादृशः, यावान् ॥

Vârt :—So also before दृक्ष, as तादृक्षः and यादृक्षः ॥

विष्वग्देवयोश्च टेरद्र्यञ्चतौ (ता) वप्रत्यये ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्वक्, देवयोः, च, टेः, अद्रि, अञ्चतौ, अप्रत्यये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विष्वक् देव इत्येतयोः सर्वनाम्नश्च टेरद्रीत्ययमादेशो भवति अञ्चतौता वप्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि स्त्रियां बहुलमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

92. In the room of the last vowel with the consonant that follows it, of a Pronoun and of the words विष्वक् and देव, is substituted अद्रि, when अञ्च with the affix व follows.

Thus विष्वगञ्चति = विष्वद्र्यङ्, This form is thus evolved. अञ्च + क्विन् = अञ्च् + O = अञ्च् + नुम् (VII. 1. 70) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonaut ञ्च्, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the क्विन् affix (VIII. 2. 62), e. i. न् is changed to ङ् and we have अङ् which with विष्वद्रि gives the above form. देवद्र्यङ्, तद्र्यङ्, यद्र्यङ् ॥ अद्रि and सध्रि (VI. 3. 95) have acute on the final irregularly (nipâtan) in order to prevent the krit-accent. and when इ is changed into य the following vowel becomes svarita (VIII. 2. 4). Why do we say of विष्वग् and देव? Observe अश्वाची = अश्वमञ्चति, the feminine ङीप् being added by IV. 1. 6 *Vârt*. The अ of अच् is elided by VI. 4. 138. and the final of अश्व is lengthened by VI. 3. 138. Why 'when अञ्च follows'? Observe विष्वग्युक् ॥ Why do we say 'when the affix व् follows'? Observe विष्वगञ्चनं ॥ The व is totally elided by VI. 1. 67. Another reading of the sûtra is अप्रत्यये (अञ्चतावप्रत्यये). It would give the same result, the meaning then being when no affix follows. The word वप्रत्यये or अप्रत्यये indicates by implication that in other places where simply a verb is mentioned, it means a word-form beginning with that verb which ends with some affix. For had अप्रत्यये not been used, then the rule would have applied not only when añch followed, but when añchana ending in ल्युट् also followed. The maxim धातुग्रहणे तदादि विधिरिष्यते is illustrated in अयस्कृतं and

अयस्कारः; for VIII. 3. 46 teaches that visarga is changed into स् when कृ follows. There the कृ denotes not only the root कृ but a word derived from कृ, therefore which begins with कृ, such as कारः and कृतः ॥ Therefore the rule applies to forms like अयस्कृत् which is followed merely by the verb कृ; as well as to forms like अयस्कृतः ॥

Vârt:—In the Vedas, diversely before the feminine nouns: thus in "विश्वाची च घृताची च" there is no substitution in विश्वाची, but in कद्रीची there is this substitution. कद्रीची is derived from किम्+अञ्च्=कद्रि+अञ्च् ॥ Then is added ङीप् and then like अश्वाची ॥

समः समि ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, समि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समित्येतस्य समि इत्ययमादेशो भवति अञ्चतौ व (अ) प्रत्ययान्त उत्तरपदे ॥

93. **समि** is substituted for **सम्**, before this **अञ्च्** when no affix (or **व** affix) follows.

Thus सम्यक्, सम्यञ्चौ, सम्यञ्चः ॥

तिरसस्तिर्यलोपे ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरसः, तिरि, अलोपे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरस् इत्येतस्य तिरि इत्ययमादेशो भवत्यञ्चतौ व (अ) प्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे ऽलोपे । यदा ऽस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

94. **तिरि** is substituted for **तिरस्** before this **अञ्च्** when no affix (or **व** affix) follows, provided that the **अ** of **अञ्च्** is not elided.

Thus तिर्यङ्, तिर्यञ्चौ, तिर्यञ्चः ॥ Why do we say 'when there is no elision'? Observe तिरश्चा, तिरश्चे ॥ Here अ is elided by VI. 4. 138. The word अलोपे in the sûtra is ambiguous. It may mean elither (1) " where अ is elided" or (2) "Where there is no elision". The latter meaning should be taken however.

सहस्य सध्रिः ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्य, सध्रिः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहेत्यस्य सध्रिरित्ययमादेशो भवत्यञ्चतौ व (अ) प्रत्ययान्तउत्तरपदे ।

95. **सध्रि** is the substitute of **सह**, before **अञ्च्** followed by no affix (or **व** affix).

Thus सध्र्यङ्, सध्र्यञ्चौ, सध्र्यञ्चः; and सध्रीचः, सध्रीचा ॥ See VI. 3. 138 for long vowel.

सध मादस्थयोश्छन्दसि ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सध, माद, स्थयोः, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माद स्थ इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः सहस्य सध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

96. **सध** is substituted for **सह** in the Veda, when **माद** and **स्थ** follow.

Thus सधमादोद्युम्न्य एकास्ताः, सधस्थाः ॥ Another example is आत्वा वृहन्तो हरयो युजाना, अर्वागिन्द्र सधमादो वहन्तु (Rig III. 3. 7) सहमाद्यन्ति देवा अस्मिन् ॥

द्व्यन्तरुपसर्गेभ्यो ऽप ईत् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि, अन्तर्, उपसर्गेभ्यः, अपः, ईत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि अन्तरित्येताभ्यामुपसर्गाच्चोत्तरस्याबित्येतस्य ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समापईत्वे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ ईत्वमनवर्णादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. After द्वि, अन्तर् and Prepositions, long ई is the substitute of अप् ॥

By I. 1. 54, ई replaces the *first-letter* of अप् viz अ only. Thus द्वीपः, अन्तरीपः, नीपम्, वीपम्, समीपम् ॥ The samâsanta अ is added by V. 4. 74.

Vârt:—Prohibition should be stated with regard to समाप ॥ समापं नाम देवयजनम् ॥ Others say after a Preposition in अ, the long ई substitution does not take place. Thus प्रापम्, परापम् ॥ The word upasarga strictly speaking denotes adverbs, and cannot be applied to nouns like अप्; here however, this word is used in a loose sense in the sûtra. It means प्र &c.

ऊदनोर्देशे ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, अनोः, देशे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनोरुत्तरस्याप ऊकारादेशो भवति देशाभिधाने ॥

98. After अनु, ऊ is substituted for (the अ of) अप्, when the sense is that of a locality.

Thus अनूपो देशः, but अन्वीपम् when locality is not meant. The long ऊ is taught for the sake of showing how the word is to be analysed; as अनु ऊपः = अनूपः ॥ The form अनूपः could have been evolved with a short उ also, as अनु + उपः = अनूपः ॥ But this analysis is not intended.

अषष्ठ्यतृतीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थास्थितोत्सुकोतिकारकरागच्छेषु ॥९९॥ पदानि ॥ अषष्ठी, अतृतीयास्थस्य, अन्यस्य, दुक्, आशीः, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक, राग, च्छेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अषष्ठीस्थस्य अतृतीयास्थस्य चान्यशब्दस्य दुगागमो भवति आशिस् आशा आस्था आस्थित उत्सुक ऊति कारक राग छ इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

Kârikâ—दुगागमो ऽविशेषेण वक्तव्यः कारकच्छयोः ।
षष्ठीतृतीययोर्नेष्ट आशीरादिषु सप्तसु ॥

99. अन्य, when not used in the Genitive or the Instrumental, gets the augment दुक् (द्), before आशिस्, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक and राग, as well as before the affix छ (ईय).

Thus अन्या आशीः = अन्यदाशीः अन्या आशा = अन्यदाशा, अन्या आस्था = अन्यदास्था, अन्य आस्थितः = अन्यदास्थितः, अन्य उत्सुकः = अन्यदुत्सुकः, अन्या ऊतिः = अन्यदूतिः, अन्यः कारकः अन्यत्कारकः, अन्यो रागः = अन्यद्रागः ॥ So also with छ, as अन्यस्मिन् भवः = अन्यदीयः ॥ It takes छ because it belongs to गहादि class (IV. 2. 138.)

The word अन्य belongs to गहादि class (IV. 2. 138). Why do we say when not in Genitive or the Instrumental ?. Observe अन्यस्य आशीः = अन्याशीः, अन्येन आस्थितः = अन्यास्थितः &c. With regard to the word कारक and the affix छ, the दुक् augment is universal, though अन्य may be even in the Genitive case &c : as अन्यस्य कारकः = अन्यत् कारकम्, अन्यस्येदम् = अन्यदीयम् ॥ The unusual occurrence of two negatives in the sûtra (अषष्ठी and अतृतीया), implies this.

अर्थे विभाषा ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थे, विभाषा, (उत्तरपदे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थशब्दउत्तरपदे अन्यस्य विभाषा दुगागमो भवति ॥

100. **दुक्** is optionally the augment of **अन्य** when **अर्थ** follows.

As अन्यदर्थः or अन्यार्थः ॥

कोः कत्तत्पुरुषे ऽचि ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोः, कत्त तत्पुरुषे, अचि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कु इत्येतस्य कदित्ययमादेशो भवति तत्पुरुषे समासे ऽजादावुत्तरपदे ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कद्भावे त्रावुपसंख्यानम् ॥

101. **कत्** is substituted for **कु** in a Tatpurusha, when a word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member.

As कदजः, कदश्वः, कदुष्ट्रः, कदन्नम् ॥ Why do we say in a Tatpurusha? Observe कूष्ट्रो राजा ॥ Why do we say "when the second member begins with a vowel"? Observe कुब्राह्मणः, कुपुरुषः ॥

Vârt :—कत् is substituted before त्रय, as कत्त्रयः=कुत्सितास्त्रयः ॥

रथवदयोश्च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथ, वदयोः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रथ वद इत्येतयोश्चोत्तरपदयोः कोः कदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

102. **कद्** is substituted for **कु** before **रथ** and **वद** also.

Thus कद्रथः, कद्वदः ॥

तृणे च जातौ ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृणे, च, जातौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तृणशब्दउत्तरपदे जातावभिधेयायां कोः कदादेशो भवति ॥

103. **कत्** is substituted for **कु**, when **तृण** follows denoting a species.

As कत्तृणा नाम जातिः ॥ But कुत्सितानि तृणानि=कुतृणानि ॥

का पथ्यक्षयोः ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ का, पथि, अक्षयोः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पथिन् अक्ष इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

104. **का** is the substitute of **कु**, before **पथिन्** and **अक्ष** ॥

Thus कापथः and काक्षः ॥

ईषदर्थे ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-अर्थे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदर्थे वर्त्तमानस्य कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

105. **का** is the substitution for **कु**, when the meaning is 'a small'.

As कामधुरम्, कालवणम्, काम्लम् ॥ Though the second member may begin with a vowel, yet this substitution takes place, in spite of VI. 3. 101 : as कोष्णम् ॥

विभाषा पुरुषे ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, पुरुषे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषशब्दउत्तरपदे विभाषा कोः का इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

106. **का** is optionally substituted for **कु**, when the word **पुरुष** follows.

Thus कापुरुषः or कुपुरुषः ॥ This is an aprâpta-vibhâshâ. In the sense of 'a little ईषद्', the substitution is compulsory ; as ईषत् पुरुषः = का पुरुषः ॥

कवञ्चोष्णे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कवम्, च, उष्णे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्णशब्दउत्तरपदे कोः कवङ्क्त्ययमादेशो भवति का च विभाषा ॥

107. का and कवङ् are optionally the substitutes of कु when उष्ण follows.

As कवोष्णम्, कोष्णम् or कदुष्णम् ॥

पथि चच्छन्दसि ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, च, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिशब्दउत्तरपदे छन्दसि विषये कोः कव का इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो विभाषा ॥

108. This substitution of का, and कव for कु takes place in the Veda, before पथ ॥

Thus कवपथः, कापथः and कुपथः ॥

पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृषोदरादीनि, यथोपदिष्टम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृषोदरादीनि शब्दरूपाणि येषु लोपागमवर्णविकाराः शास्त्रेण न विहिता दृश्यन्ते च तानि यथोपदिष्टानि साधूनि भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥दिक्शब्देभ्य उत्तरस्य तीरस्य तार भावो वा भवति ॥

वा० ॥ वाचो वादे डत्वं च लभावश्चोत्तरपदस्येञि प्रत्यये ॥

वा० ॥ षषउत्वं दतृदशधासूत्तरपदादेष्टुत्वं च ॥

वा० ॥ दुरोदाशनाशदभध्येषूत्वं वक्तव्यमुत्तरपदादेश्च ष्टुत्वम् ॥

वा० ॥ स्वरो रोहतौ छन्दस्युत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ पीवोपवसनादीनां च लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥

Kârikâ—वर्णागमो वर्णविपर्ययश्च द्वौ चापरौ वर्णविकारनाशौ ।
धातोस्तदर्थातिशयेन योगस्तदुच्यते पञ्चविधं निरुक्तम् ॥

109. The elision, augment and mutation of letters to be seen in पृषादर &c, though not found taught in treatises of Grammar, are valid, to that extent and in the mode, as taught by the usage of the sages.

The word यथोपदिष्टम् = शिष्टैरुच्चारितानि ॥ Thus पृषदुदरो यस्य = पृषोदरम्, पृषद् उद्वानं यस्य = पृषोद्वानम् ॥ Here there is elision of द् ॥ So also वारिवाहकः = बलाहकः, here वारि is replaced by ब, and ल replaces व of वाहक; जीवनस्य मूतः = जीमूतः, here वन has been elided; शवानां शयनं = श्मशानम्; here श्म replaces शव; and शान for शयन ॥ उर्द्ध्वं खमस्य = उलूखलम्; here उलू replaces ऊर्ध, and खल replaces खम ॥ पिशिताशः = पिशाचः ॥ ब्रुवन्तोस्यां सीदन्ति = बृसी ॥ Here सद् takes the affix ड्ट in the locative, and ब्रुव is replaced by बृ ॥ मह्यां रौति = मयूरः ॥ Here मही is replaced by मयू, and the final of रु is elided before the affix अच् ॥ And so on with अश्वत्थ, कपित्थ &c.

Vârt:—तीर becomes optionally तार after a word denoting direction, as दक्षिणतीरम् or दक्षिणतारम्, उत्तरतीरम्, or उत्तरतारम् ॥

Vârt:—Before the Patronymic इञ् affix, वाग्वाद becomes वाड्वाल as, वाग्वादस्यापत्यं = वाड्वालिः ॥

Vârt:—The final of षष् is changed to उ before दत्, दश, and धा (meaning

'location'): and the first letter of the second member is changed to ड or ढ ॥ Thus षड् दन्ता अस्य = षाडन्; so षोडश ; षड्धा or षोढा कुरु ॥ The addition of ड is optional here. The putting of धासु in the plural number indicates that धा has here the meaning of "in many parts or ways" (नानाधिकरण). In fact it has the force of an affix here. The rule therefore does not apply to these:—षट् दधाति or धयति = षड्धा ॥

Vârt.—The final of दुर् is changed to उ, before दाश, नाश, दभ and ध्यै and the first letters of these are changed to their corresponding cerebrals. Thus दुःखेन दाश्यते, नाश्यते, दभ्यते यः = दूडाशः, दूणाशः, दूडभः, In the last (दम्भ) there is elision of the nasal also. दुष्ट ध्यायति = दूढ्यः ॥ Here is added the affix क to the root ध्या (ध्यै) preceded by the upapada दुः, by III. I. 136.

Vârt.—उ is substituted for the final of स्वर् when the verb रुह follows in the Vedas: as एहित्वं जायेस्वो रोहाव (रोहाव is Imperative Ist. Pers. Dual).

Vârt.—The final of पीवस्, पयस् &c. is elided in the Vedas. as पीवोप वसमानां, पयोपवसनानाम् ॥

संख्याविसायपूर्वस्याह्नस्याहनन्यतरस्यां ङौ ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या, वि, साय, पूर्वस्य, अह्नस्य, अहन्, अन्यतरस्याम्, ङौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्या वि साय इत्येवंपूर्वस्याह्नशब्दस्य स्थाने अहनित्ययमादेशो भवत्यन्यतरस्यां ङौ परतः ॥

110. **अहन्** may optionally be substituted for **अह्न**, in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or **वि** or **साय** precedes it.

Thus द्वयोरह्नोर्भवः = द्व्यह्नः, त्र्यह्नः ॥ The Locative singular of these are द्व्यह्नि or द्व्यहनि, त्र्यह्नि or त्र्यहनि ॥ So also द्व्यह्ने, त्र्यह्ने ॥ With वि—व्यह्नि, व्यहनि or व्यह्ने ; साय—सायाह्नि, सायाहनि, सायाह्ने ॥ These are एकदेशिसमासः, and this very sûtra is an indicator that अहन् may be compounded with other words than a Numeral, or वि or साय ॥ Thus we have मध्याह्ने = मध्यमह्नः (II. 2. 1). But पूर्वाह्णे and अपराह्णे only.

ढ्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ढ्रलोपे, पूर्वस्य, दीर्घः, अणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ढकाररेफयोर्लोपो यस्मिन् स ढ्रलोपः, तत्र पूर्वस्याणो दीर्घो भवति ॥

111. When **ढ्** or **र्** is elided, for the preceding **अ, इ** and **उ** a corresponding Long vowel is substituted.

Thus लीढम्, मीढम्, उपगूढम् ॥ रलोपे-निर्-रक्तम् = नीरक्तम्, अग्निर् रथः = अग्नीरथः, इन्दू रथः, पुना रक्तम् वासः, प्राता राजक्रयः ॥ For the elision of ढ see VIII. 3. 13, and for the elision of र् see VIII. 3. 14. But आवृढम्, the ऋ is not lengthened because it is not included in the pratyahâra अण् which is formed with the ण् of अ इ उ ण्॥

सहिवहोरोदवर्णस्य ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहि, वहोः, ओत्, अवर्णस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहि वहि इत्येतयोरवर्णस्योकार आदेशो भवति ढ्रलोपे ॥

112. When **ढ्** or **र्** are elided, there is the substitution of **ओ** for the **अ** or **आ** of the verbs **सह्** and **वह्** ॥

Thus सोढा, सोढुम्, सोढव्यम्, वोढा, वोढुम् and वोढव्यम् ॥ Why do we say of अ or आ? Observe ऊढः, ऊढवान् ॥ Why do we say अवर्ण which includes long आ also? The rule will apply even when the short अ of सह and वह is changed to आ by Vṛiddhi: as उदवोढाम्, उदवोढम् ॥ Had merely अ been read into the sûtra, instead of अवर्ण then coming after the त् of ओत्, it would have denoted only short अ (तादपि परः = तपरः I. 1. 75).

साढ्यै साढ्वा साढेति निगमे ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साढ्यै, साढ्वा, साढा, इति, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साढ्यै साढ्वा साढा इति निगमे निपात्यन्ते ॥

113. **साढ्यै, साढ्वा** and **साढा** are irregularly formed in the Vedas.

Thus साढ्यै समन्तात्, साढ्वा शत्रून् ॥ The latter is formed by क्त्वा affix, the ओ substitution not taking place. In the other alternative क्त्वा is changed to ध्वै ॥ साढा is formed by तृच् affix. In the secular literature सोढा and सोढ्वा are the proper forms.

संहितायाम् ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संहितायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहितायामित्ययमधिकारः । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः संहितायामित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

114. In the following sûtras upto the end of the pâda, are to be supplied the following words :—"In an uninterrupted flow of speech".

Thus sûtra VI. 3. 135 declares "अ at the end of a two-syllabic inflected verb becomes long in the Hymns". Thus विद्माहित्वा सत्पतिं शूर गोनाम् The word संहितायाम् should be read into that sûtra to complete the sense. So that when the above words stand separately, we have विद्म, हि, त्वा, सत्पतिं, शूर, गोनाम्॥

कर्णे लक्षणस्याविष्टाष्टपञ्चमणिभिन्नच्छिन्नच्छिद्रस्रुवस्वस्तिकस्य ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्णे, लक्षणस्य, अ विष्ट, अष्ट, पञ्च, मणि, भिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, स्रुव, स्वस्तिकस्य (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्णशब्दे उत्तरपदे लक्षणवाचिनी दीर्घो भवंति विष्ट अष्टम् पञ्चन् मणि भिन्न छिन्न छिद्र स्रुव स्वस्तिक इत्येतान्वर्जयित्वा ॥

115. Before **कर्ण**, there is the substitution of a long vowel for the final of the preceding word, when it denotes a proprietorship mark or the ears of cattle, but not when the words are **विष्ट, अष्टन्, पञ्चन्, मणि, भिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, स्रुव** and **स्वस्तिक** ॥

Thus दात्राकर्णः, द्विगुणाकर्णः, त्रिगुणाकर्णः, द्व्यङ्गुलाकर्णः, अङ्गुलाकर्णः ॥ The word लक्षण here means any peculiar mark showing the proprietorship, put or made on the ears of animals. Why do we say when it denotes such a mark?

Observe शोभनकर्णः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of विष्ट &c'? Observe विष्टकर्णः ॥ अष्टकर्णः, पञ्चकर्णः, भिन्नकर्णः, छिन्नकर्णः, छिद्रकर्णः, स्रुवकर्णः, स्वस्तिककर्णः and मणिकर्णः॥

नहिवृतिवृषिव्यधिरुचिसहितनिषु क्वौ ॥११६॥ पदानि ॥ नहि, वृति, वृषि, व्यधि, रुचि, सहि, तनिषु, क्वौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नहि वृति वृषि व्यधि रुचि सहि तनि इत्येतेषु क्विप्प्रत्ययान्तेषूत्तरपदेषु पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घो भवति संहितायां विषये ॥

116. A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs नह्, वृत्, वृष्, व्यध्, रुच्, सह् and तन्, when these roots take the affix क्विप् ॥

Thus उपानह् (उपानत् Nom. S.), so also, परीणत्, नीवृत्, उपावृत्, (with vṛt) प्रावृट्, उपावृट्, (with vṛsh) मर्माविद्, हृदयाविद्, श्वाविद्,(with vyadh) नीरुक्, अभीरुक्, (with ruch) ऋतीषट्, (with sah) तरीतट् (with tan). The nasal is elided after गम् before क्विप् (VI. 4. 40), by an extension of that rule, it is elided after तन् also. Why do we say when क्विप् follows? Observe परिणहनम् ॥

वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिंशुलकादीनाम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वन, गिर्योः, संज्ञायाम्, कोटर, किंशुलकादीनाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन गिरि इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्यथासंख्यं कोटरादीनां किंशुलकादीनां च दीर्घो भवति संज्ञायां विषये॥

117. For the final vowel of कोटर &c. a long vowel is substituted before वन, and so also of किंशुलक &c. before गिरि, when the compound is a Name.

Thus कोटरावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिध्रकावणम्, सारिकावणम् ॥

So also किंशुलकागिरिः, अञ्जनागिरिः, &c.

The न is changed to ण in वन by VIII. 4. 4. But असिपत्रवनम् and कृष्णगिरि as these words do not belong to the above classes.

1 कोटर, 2 मिश्रक, 3 सिध्रक, 4 पुरग (पुरक), 5 शारिक (सारिक) ॥

1 किंशुलुक (किंशुलक), 2 शाल्व (साल्वक), 3 नड*, 4 अञ्जन, 5 भञ्जन, 6 लोहित, 7 कुक्कुट ॥

वले ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वले, (पूर्वस्य दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वले परतः पूर्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुत्साहभ्रातृपितॄणमिति ॥

118. The final of the preceding word is lengthened before the affix वल ॥

Thus आसुतीवलः, कृषीवलः, दन्तावलः ॥ These are formed by the affix वलच् (V. 2. 112).

Vârt:—Not so, of उत्साह, भ्रातृ and पितृ : as उत्साहवलः, भ्रातृवलः and पितृवलः ॥

मतौ बह्वचो ऽनजिरादीनाम् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतौ, बह्वचः, अनजिरादीनाम्, (संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतौ परतो बह्वचो ऽजिरादिवर्जितस्य दीर्घो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

119. The final vowel of a word consisting of more than two syllables is lengthened before the affix मत्, when it is a name, but not of the words अजिर &c.

Thus उदुम्बरावती, मशकावती, वीरणावती, पुष्करावती, अमरावती ॥ These are formed by the affix मतुप् (IV. 2. 85) The मत् is changed to वत्, by VIII. 2. 11. Why do we say 'of a word consisting of more than two syllables? Observe व्रीहिमती ॥ Why 'with the exception of अजिर &c'. Observe अजिरवती, खदिरवती, पुलिनवती, हंसकारण्डवती, चक्रवाकवती ॥ When the word is not a name, there is no lengthening, as वलयवती ॥

1 अजिर, 2 खदिर, 3 पुलिन. 4 हंस, 5 कारण्डव (हंसकारण्डव) 6 चक्रवाक.

शरादीनां च ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ शरादीनाम्, च, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरादीनां च मतो दीर्घो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

120. The final vowel of शर &c. is lengthened before मत् when it is a Name.

As शरावती, वंशावती ॥ The म of मत् is changed to व because it is a Name (VIII. 2. 11). But not so after व्रीहि &c as these belong to यवादि class (VIII. 2. 9).

1 शर, 2 वंश, 3 धूम, 4 अहि, 5 कपि 6 मणि, 7 मुनि, 8 शुचि, 9 हनु.

इको वहे ऽपीलोः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, वहे, अपीलोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्य पूर्वपदस्य पीलुवर्जितस्य वहउत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अपील्वादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

121. The final इ and the उ of a word, with the exception of पीलु, are lengthened before वह ॥

Thus ऋषीवहम्, कपीवहम्, मुनीवहम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in इक् vowels'? Observe पिण्डवहम् ॥ Why not of पीलु? Observe पीलुवहम् ॥

Vârt:—It should be stated "with the exception of पीलु and the rest." As दारुवहम् ॥

उपसर्गस्य घञ्यमनुष्ये बहुलम् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गस्य, घञि, अमनुष्ये, बहुलम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्य घञन्तउत्तरपदे ऽमनुष्येऽभिधेये बहुलं दीर्घो भवति ॥

122. The final vowel of a Preposition is diversely lengthened, before a word formed by the kṛit-affix घञ्, but not when the compound denotes a human being.

Thus नीक्लेदः, वीमार्गः, अपामार्गः ॥ It does not take place, as प्रसेचः, प्रसारः ॥ It is lengthened before सार and कार, when building is meant, as प्रासादः and प्राकारः, otherwise प्रसादः and प्रकारः ॥ Optionally in वेश &c. as प्रतिवेशः or प्रतीवेशः, प्रतिरोधः or प्रतीरोधः ॥ When human beings are meant, there is no lengthening, as निषादो मनुष्यः ॥

इकः काशे ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, काशे, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्योपसर्गस्य काशशब्दउत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

123. A Preposition ending in इ, or उ lengthens its final before काश ॥

As नीकाशः, वीकाशः, अनूकाशः ॥ काश is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134). Why do we say 'ending in इ or उ'? Observe प्रकाशः where the Preposition does not end in इक् ॥

दस्ति ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, ति, (दीर्घः इकः उपसर्गस्य) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दा इत्येतस्य यस्तकारादिरादेशस्तस्मिन्परत इगन्तस्योपसर्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

124. A Preposition ending in इ or उ lengthens its final vowel, before the verb दा, when the latter is changed to त ॥

Thus नीत्तम्, वीत्तम्, परीत्तम् ॥ See VII. 4. 47 for the change of दा to त ॥ But प्रत्तम्, अवत्तम्, where the prepositions do not end in इ or उ ॥ Why do we say 'दा is changed to त'? Observe वितीर्णम् नितीर्णम् ॥ Why do we say ति 'a substitute of दा, beginning with a त'? Observe सुदत्तम्, here दद् is the substitute of दा (VII. 4. 46).

अष्टनः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, संज्ञायाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनित्येतस्योत्तरपदे संज्ञायां दीर्घो भवति ॥

125. A long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before the second member, when the compound is a name.

Thus अष्टावक्रः, अष्टाबन्धुरः अष्टापदम् ॥ But अष्टपुत्रः, अष्टभार्यः where the compounds are not names.

छन्दसि च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, च, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये ऽष्टन उत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गवि च युक्ते भाषायामष्टनो दीर्घो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

126. In the Veda also, the long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a second member.

Thus आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत्, अष्टाहिरण्या दक्षिणा, अष्टापदी देवता सुमती ॥ The form अष्टापदी is the feminine in ङीप् (IV. 1. 8) of अष्टपात् (V. 4. 138 the अ of पाद being elided in a Bahuvrîhi), पद् being substituted for पात् by VI. 4, 130.

Vârt:—The final of अष्टन् is lengthened before गो even in the vernacular, when yoking is meant. Thus अष्टागवं शकटम् ॥

चितेः कपि ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चितेः, कपि, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चितिशब्दस्य कपि परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

127. The final vowel of चिति is lengthened before the affix कप् ॥

Thus एकचितीकः, द्विचितीकः, त्रिचितीकः ॥

विश्वस्य वसुराटोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विश्वस्य, वसु, राटोः, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विश्वशब्दस्य वसु राडित्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोर्दीर्घ आदेशो भवति ॥

128. The final vowel of **विश्व** is lengthened before **वसु** and **राट्** (the form assumed by **राज्**).

Thus विश्वावसुः, विश्वाराट् ॥ The rule applies to the राट् form of राज in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form: as विश्वराजौ, विश्वराजः ॥

नरे संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नरे, संज्ञायाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नरशब्दउत्तरपदे संज्ञायां विषये विश्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

129. The final of **विश्व** is lengthened before **नर**, when the compound is a Name.

Thus विश्वानरः, वैश्वानरिः (the son of Vishvânara). But विश्वनरः = विश्वे नरा यस्य when it is not a name.

मित्रे चर्षौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ मित्रे, च, ऋषौ, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मित्रे चोत्तरपदे ऋषावभिधेये विश्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

130. The final of **विश्व** is lengthened before **मित्र** when it is the name of a Rishi.

As विश्वामित्रः 'the sage Viśvâmitra'. But विश्वमित्रः 'a boy called Viśvamitra'.

मन्त्रे सोमाश्वेन्द्रियविश्वदेव्यस्य मतौ ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे, सोम, अश्व, इन्द्रिय, विश्वदेव्यस्य, मतौ, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रविषये सोम अश्व इन्द्रिय विश्वदेव्य इत्येतेषां मतुप्प्रत्यये परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

131. In a Mantra, the final vowels of **सोम**, **अश्व**, **इन्द्रिय** and **विश्वदेव्य** are lengthened when the affix **मतुप्** follows.

Thus सोमावती, अश्वावती, इन्द्रियावती, विश्वदेव्यावती ॥

ओषधेश्च विभक्तावप्रथमायाम् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओषधेः, च, विभक्तौ, अप्रथमायाम्, (मन्त्रे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओषधिशब्दस्य विभक्तावप्रथमायां परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

132. In a Mantra, the final of **ओषधि** is lengthened before the case-endings, but not in the Nominative.

Thus ओषधीभिरपीपतत्, नमः पृथिव्यै नमः ओषधीभ्यः ॥ Why do we say 'before case-endings'? Observe ओषधिपते ॥ Why do we say 'but not in the Nominative'? Observe स्थिरेयमस्त्वौषधिः ॥

ऋचि तुनुघमक्षुतङ्कुत्रोरुष्याणाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋचि, तु, नु, घ, मक्षु, तङ्, कुत्र, उरुष्याणाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋचि विषये तु नु घ मक्षु तङ् कु त्र उरुष्य इत्येषां दीर्घो भवति ॥

133. In the Rig-Veda the finals of the particles नु, तु, घ, मक्षु, the tense-affix तङ्, कु, the ending त्र and the word उरुष्य are lengthened.

Thus तु :—आ तू न इन्द्र वृत्रहन् (Rig IV. 32. 1) नु—नू करणे ॥ घ : —उत वाघा स्यालात् ॥ मक्षुः—मक्षू गोमन्तमीमहे ॥ तङ् :—शृणुत जोतवेदसम् (Rig X. 176. 2). तङ् is the त substitute of था, when it is treated as ङित्, therefore it does not apply here, शृणोत ग्रावाणः (I. 2. 4). कु—कूमनस् ; त्र—अत्रा गौः ; उरुष्या णोग्रेः ॥

इकः सुञि ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, सुञि, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुञ् निपातो गृह्यते । इगन्तस्य सुञि परतो मन्त्रविषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

134. In a Mantra, the finals of the preceding member ending in इ or उ are lengthened before the particle सु ॥

Thus अभी षु णः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) ऊर्ध्व ऊ षुण ऊतये (Rig I. 36. 13). The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 107: and न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27.

द्व्यचोतस्तिङः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यचः, अतः, तिङः, (ऋचि दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचस्तिङन्तस्यात ऋग्विषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

135. A tense affix ending in अ is lengthened in the Rig-veda, when the Verb consists of two syllables.

Thus विद्मा हि त्वा सत्पतिं शूर गोनाम् &c. See Rig III. 42. 6, विद्मा हि तस्य पितरम् &c. But not here देवा भवत वाजिनः, as the verb consists of more than two syllables: not also here आ देवान् वक्षि यक्षि च as the verbs do not end in अ ॥

निपातस्य च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातस्य, च, (ऋचि) (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निपातस्य च ऋग्विषये दीर्घ आदेशो भवति ॥

136. In the Rig Veda the final of a particle is lengthened.

Thus एवा ते, अच्छाते, अच्छा जरितारः (R. 1. 2. 2).

अन्येषामपि दृश्यते ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषाम्, अपि, दृश्यते, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येषामपि दीर्घो दृश्यते स शिष्टप्रयोगादनुगन्तव्यः॥ यस्य दीर्घत्वं न विहितं दृश्यते च प्रयोगे तदनेन कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम ॥ शुनो दन्तदंष्ट्राकर्णकुन्दवराहपुच्छपदेषु ॥

137. The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also.

Here we must follow the usage of the Śishṭhas. Where the lengthening is not ordained by any of the rules of Grammar, but occurs in the writing of standard authors, there we should accept such lengthening as valid. Thus केशाकेशि, कचाकचि, जलासाह्, नारकः, पूरुषः ॥

Vârt:—The final of श्वन् is lengthened before the following दन्त, दंष्ट्रा, कर्ण कुन्द, वराह, पुच्छ, and पद:—as श्वादन्तः श्वादंष्ट्रः, श्वाकर्णः, श्वाकुन्दः, श्वावराहः, श्वापुच्छः, श्वापदः ॥

चौ ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ, (पूर्वस्यदीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चौ परतः पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥ चावित्यञ्चतिर्लुप्तनकाराकारो गृह्यते ॥

138. The final vowel of the preceding member is lengthened before अञ्च, when it assumes the form च, having lost its nasal and the vowel.

Thus दधीचः पश्य, दधीचा, दधीचे, मधूचः पश्य, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ The nasal of अञ्च is elided by VI. 4. 24, and the अ by VI. 4. 138. In दधि+अच् the इ is not changed to its semivowel, though that is an antaranga rule, because the present sûtra ordains specifically long ई, and so also दधी+अच् and मधू+अच् ॥ See also VI. 3. 92.

संप्रसारणस्य ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संप्रसारणस्य, (उत्तरपदे दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसारणान्तस्य पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदे दीर्घो भवति ॥

139. The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound.

As कारीषगन्धीपुत्रः, कारीषगन्धीपतिः, कौमुदगन्धीपतिः ॥ See VI. 1. 13. करीषस्येव गन्धोऽस्य=करीषगन्धिः (इ being added as samâsânta by V. 4. 136 and 137). The optional shortening ordained by VI. 3. 61. does not apply here, for that option is a definite and restricted option; moreover, on the maxim of परत्व, 'a subsequent rule superseding a precedent,' rule VI. 3. 61 is superseded by VI. 3. 139; and the rule VI. 3. 61 can not be revived by the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्ग विज्ञानं "occasional ly the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded, by a subsequent rule." For here the following maxim will prevent the revival सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधेयद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेव "when two rules, while they apply simultaneously, mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether, and cannot, therefore, apply again, after the latter rule has taken effect."

ओम्३ ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH

अङ्गस्य ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोयमाऽऽसप्तमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः । यदित उर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽङ्गस्येत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. Whatever will be taught here after upto the end of the Seventh Adhyâya, is consequent upon the stem (aṅga).

This is an adhikâra sûtra. Thus in VI. 4. 2 is taught the lengthening of the vowel of a samprasâraṇa : as हूतः, जीतः, संवीतः ॥ That means that the vowel preceded by a consonant belonging to the stem is lengthened. Therefore in निर्+वेञ्+क्त=निरुतम्, the vocalised vowel उ is not lengthened, as निर् is upasarga and not stem. So दुरुतम् ॥ Similarly VI. 4. 3, teaches the lengthening of the final before नाम्, as अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम् ॥ But क्रिमिणाम् पश्य, पामनां पश्य, as मि and म are not the end-portions of a stem. The stem is क्रिमिणा and पामना 'a female having क्रिमि or पामन्', formed by न affix (V. 2. 100). The forms क्रिमिणाम् and पामनाम् are Accusative Singular. Similarly VII. 1. 9 teaches that after अ, भिस् is changed into ऐस् ॥ As वृक्षैः, प्लक्षैः ॥ There also, the अ must be the अ final in an aṅga or stem : hence not here ब्राह्मणभिस्सा, ओदनभिस्सटा, the भिस does not follow an aṅga. भिस्स means boiled rice and भिस्सटा means दग्धः ॥

The maxim of अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य does not apply here ; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of making this sûtra. For example, in the sûtra नामि (VI. 4. 3), the affix नाम् having a meaning would have been meant, and not any other नाम् ॥

The word अङ्गस्य must be read in the following sûtras, otherwise there would arise incongruity : *first*; sûtras teaching the lengthening of the vowel when सन् or Samprasaraṇa follows, thus : VI. 4. 16 ordains the lengthening of vowel before सन्, as विवीषति ; but not here दधि सनोति for इ of दधि is not that of aṅga. So also in Samprasârana, but not in निरुत &c as shown above.

2ndly—For the purposes of एत्वं in sûtra VI. 4. 68. The optional change of आ into ए must refer to anga,, as ग्लेयात् or ग्लायात्, but not here निर्यायात् or निर्वायात्, for here र् is not part of the anga, and so र्य cannot be considered a conjunct part of anga.

3rdly—For the change of तु to तात् in VII. 1. 35. There also तु must be portion of the anga, and not the particle तु, therefore, जीवतु or जीवतात्, but hot here जीव तु त्वम् ॥

4thly—For the substitution of इयङ् aud उवङ् in VI. 4. 77. Therefore not here श्यर्थम् and वर्थम् ॥

5thly—For the sake of नुट् augment in VII. 1. 54. But not here कुमारी आमिति आह ॥

6thly—For the sake of shortening of vowels. Thus VII. 4. 13 ordains the shortening of अण् vowels before क ॥ It refers to the anga-vowel, as कुमारिका ॥ But not here, कुमारी कस्मै स्पृहयति or कुमार्याः कं सुखं = कुमारीकं ॥

And lastly for तत्व or त substitution. Thus VII. 4. 48 ordains the change of प into त् in the case of अप before भ ॥ It refers to anga, as अद्भिः ॥ But not here अब्भारः, for अप् here is not anga.

To sum up in Sanskrit : सन् सम्प्रसारण दीर्घत्वैस्वतातार्ङयङुवङ्नुट ह्रस्वत्व तत्वे च अङ्गस्येत्यधिकारे प्रयोजनं ॥

The word अङ्गस्य is in the Genitive case. But the force of Genitive is here not only that taught in I. 1. 49 (स्थाने योगः), but of mere relation-ship. Or अङ्गस्य may be considered as a mere prâtipadika, without any case-affix. In the subsequent aphorisms, it should be read with proper case-affixes as the exigencies of each sûtra may require. Thus in अतो भिस ऐस् (VII. 1. 9) अङ्ग should be read in the ablative case : अकारान्ताद् अङ्गाद् भिसः ऐस् ॥ The Genitive case has force of स्थानषष्ठी in sûtras like हन्तेर्ज, where the *whole* of हन् is replaced (VI. 4. 36). It has the force of अवयवषष्ठी in sûtras like ऊदुपधाया गोहः (VI. 4. 89). It has the force of निमित्तनिमित्ति सम्बन्धः in युवोरनाकौ (VII. 1. 1). Or the Genitive case in अङ्गस्य may be changed into any other case, as already shown.

हलः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, (अङ्गस्य सम्प्रसारणम् दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गावयवाद्धलो यदुत्तरं संप्रसारणं तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

2. The long vowel is substituted for a vocalised half-vowel अ, इ and उ at the end of a stem, when it is preceded by a consonant which is a portion of the stem.

Both the words दीर्घ and अण् from VI. 3. 111, and संप्रसारण from VI. 3. 139 are understood here. Thus हूतः from ह्वा, जीनः from ज्या, संवीतः from व्या ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe उतः and उतवान् from वेञ्॥ Why do we say that the preceding consonant should be a portion of the stem?

Observe निरुतम्, here र् is not an integral part of the stem, but a portion of the upasarga निर् and therefore उ is not lengthened. Why do we say 'at the end of a stem'? Observe विद्धः, विचितः from व्यध् and व्यच्; here the vowel इ is in the *middle* of the stem. Why do we say 'अ, इ and उ substitutes of semivowels'? Observe तृतीयः ॥ Here त्रि has been vocalised into तृ, ऋ being substituted for र् before the affix तीय (V. 2. 55). The ऋ will not be lengthened. Or the absence of lengthening in तृतीय is an irregularity countenanced by Pâṇini himself in sûtras like II. 1. 30 &c. The word अङ्ग should be repeated in this sûtra, first to qualify the word हल, and then to qualify the letters अ, इ and उ ॥

नामि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नामि, (अङ्गस्य दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नामीत्येतत्षष्ठीबहुवचनम् आगतनुटकं गृह्यते ॥ तस्मिन्परतोऽङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

Kârikâ—नामि दीर्घ आमि चेत्स्यात्कृते दीर्घे न नुट् भवेत् ।
वचनाद्यत्र तन्नास्ति, नोपधायाश्च चर्म्मणाम् ॥

3. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नाम् (having the augment नुट्).

Thus अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम्, कर्तॄणाम्, हर्तॄणाम् ॥ The anuvritti of अण् (VI. 3. 111) ceases. The augment नुट् (VII. 1. 54) in नाम् is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra; like VI.4.7. and the lengthening takes place after the addition of नुट् to the genitive affix आम् ॥ For if the lengthening took place before the addition of नुट्, there would be no occasion for नुट् which comes only after short stems.

न तिसृचतसृ ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, तिसृ, चतसृ, (नामि दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृ चतसृ इत्येतयोर्नामि दीर्घो न भवति ॥

4. The finals of तिसृ and चतसृ are not lengthened before नाम् ॥

As तिसृणाम्, चतसृणाम् ॥ The very fact of this prohibition proves by implication that the final ऋ of these words is not changed to र before a genitive plural, VII. 2. 100 notwithstanding. In fact नुट् is added before scope is given to that rule, and thus the preceding rule VII. 1. 54 prevents the application of the subsequent rule VII. 2. 100.

छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये तिसृचतस्रोर्नामि परत उभयथा दृश्यते, दीर्घश्चादीर्घश्च ॥

5. In the Veda, the finals of तिसृ and चतसृ are found in both ways, before the Genitive plural नाम् ॥

In some places they are seen as lengthened, in others not. As तिसृण मध्यंदिने or तिसृणाम् मध्यंदिने ॥ So also चतसृणाम् and चतसॄणाम् ॥

नृ च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नृ, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृ इत्येतस्य नामि परयुभयथा भवति ॥

6. So also नृ before the Genitive Plural नाम is lengthened optionally.

As त्वं नृणां नृपते, and त्वं नृणां नृपते ॥ According to some this option is confined to the Vedas, according to others, it extends to secular literature also.

नोपधायाः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उपधायाः, (नामि दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नान्तस्याङ्गस्योपधाया नामि परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

7. In a stem ending in न्, the preceding vowel is lengthened before the affix नाम ॥

Thus पञ्चन् + नाम (VII. 1. 55) = पञ्चान् + नाम् (VI. 4. 7) = पञ्चानाम् (VIII. 2. 7); सप्तानाम्, नवानाम्, दशानाम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in न्'? Observe चतुर्णाम् ॥ But not in चर्म्मणाम् where the affix is not नाम but आम् without नुट् ॥

सर्वनामस्थाने चासंबुद्धौ ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने, च, असम्बुद्धौ (नोपधायाः दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने च परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ नोपधाया दीर्घो भवति ॥

8. In a stem ending in न्, the preceding vowel is lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular.

As राजा, राजानौ, राजानः, राजानम्, राजानौ ॥ So also सामानि तिष्ठन्ति ॥ राजा was राजान्स्, the स् was elided by VI. 1. 68, and न् by VIII. 2. 7. Why do we say 'in strong cases'? Observe राजनि (Loc-Sing); सामनि (Loc. Sing). Why do we say 'but not in the Vocative Singular'? Observe हे राजन्! हे तक्षन्!

वा षपूर्वस्य निगमे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ष, पूर्वस्व, निगमे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षपूर्वस्याचो नोपधाया निगमविषये सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ वा दीर्घो भवति ॥

9. The lengthening of the penultimate vowel of a stem ending in न्, before the affixes of the strong-case, is optional in the Veda, when ष precedes such a vowel.

Thus स तक्षाणं or तक्षणं, तिष्ठन्तमब्रवीत् । ऋभुक्षाणं or ऋभुक्षणमिन्द्रम् ॥
Why do we say 'in the Veda'? In the secular literature we have तक्षा, तक्षाणौ तक्षाणः always.

सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ सान्त, महतः, संयोगस्य, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्य संयोगस्य यो नकारः महतश्च तस्योपधाया दीर्घो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ ॥

10. In the strong cases with the exception of Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case of a stem ending in स, with a Nasal consonant preceding it, and of महत् ॥

That is, a stem ending in the conjunct consonant न्स्, elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases. Thus श्रेयान्, श्रेयांसौ, श्रेयांसः, श्रेयांसि, पयांसि, यशांसि ॥ महत्—महान्, महान्तौ, महान्तः ॥ But हे श्रेयन्, हे महन् in Vocative Singular. The Nasal is inserted by VII. 1. 70.

अप्तृन्तृच्स्वसृनप्तृनेष्टृत्वष्टृक्षत्तृहोतृपोतृप्रशास्तॄणाम् ॥११॥ पदानि ॥ अप्, तृन्, तृच्, स्वसृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षत्तृ, होतृ, पोतृ, प्रशास्तॄणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप् इत्येतस्य तृजन्तस्य स्वसृ नप्तृ नेष्टृ त्वष्टृ क्षत्तृ होतृ पोतृ प्रशास्तृ इत्येतेषां चाङ्गानामुपधाया दीर्घो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतो ऽसंबुद्धौ ॥

11. In the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative Singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened in अप्, in stems formed by तृन् and तृच् affixes, and in स्वसृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षत्तृ, होतृ, पोतृ and प्रशास्तृ ॥

Thus आपः तिष्ठन्ति ॥ Some would have it even in compounds; as बह्वाम्पि तडागानि ॥ The Samâsânta rule is not applied here, because it is *anitya*. If it be considered *nitya*, then also there is lengthening, but without the addition of the nasal. तत्र समासान्तो विधिरनित्य इति समासान्तो न क्रियते। नित्यमपि च नुममकृत्वा दीर्घत्वमिष्यते। तृन्। कर्त्तारौ कटान्। वदितारौ जनापवादान्। कर्त्तारः। तृच्। कर्त्तारौ कटस्य। कर्त्तारः। हर्त्तारौ भारस्य, हर्त्तारः। स्वसृ। स्वसा। स्वसारौ। स्वसारः। नप्तृ। नप्ता। नप्तारौ। नप्तारः। नेष्टृ। नेष्टारौ। नेष्टारः। त्वष्टृ। त्वष्टारौ। त्वष्टारः। क्षत्तृ। क्षत्तारौ। क्षत्तारः। होतृ। होतारौ। होतारः। पोतृ। पोतारौ। पोतारः। प्रशास्तृ। प्रशास्तारौ। प्रशास्तारः। नप्त्रादीनां ग्रहणमव्युत्पत्तिपक्षे विध्यर्थम्। व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नियमार्थम्। एवंभूतानामन्येषां संज्ञाशब्दानां दीर्घो मा भूदिति। पितरौ। पितरः। मातरौ। मातरः। असंबुद्धाविति किम्। हेकर्त्तः। हेस्वसः ॥

If the words नप्तृ &c. be considered as रूढि, not derived from any root, then their enumeration is here for the sake of Vidhi (injunction); if they be considered as derivative words formed by Uṇadi affixes, then their enumeration is for the sake of niyama (restriction), so that other words formed similarly are not to be governed by this rule. As पितरौ, पितरः, मातरौ, मातरः ॥ Why do we say 'not in the Vocative Singular'? Observe हे कर्त्तः, हे स्वसः ॥ In the above examples अर् is substituted for ऋ by VII. 3. 110.

इन्हन्पूषार्यम्णां शौ ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्, हन्, पूष अर्यम्णां, शौ, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन् हन् पूषन् अर्यमन् इत्येवमन्तानामङ्गानां शौ परत उपधाया दीर्घो भवति ॥

12. The penultimate vowel is lengthened before the affix शि (Nominative and Accusative Pl.), when the stem ends in इन्, or हन्, or पूषन् or अर्यमन् ॥

According to the maxim (See VI. 4. 14 also) that "अन्, इन्, अस्, मन् ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्त विधिं प्रयोजयन्ति", the employment of इन् in this sûtra includes and means "words *ending* in the syllable इन्" ॥ As regards the rest (हन् &c.), the affix शि (Neuter Pl.) is never added to them alone, but when they are parts of a compound. Thus हन् is a noun formed by the addition of

the affix क्विप् to the root हन्; and the affix Kvip is added to it only then, when it is preceded by another word like "Brahma" &c. See III. 2. 87. Similarly the words पूषन् and अर्यमन् are masculine and cannot take the Neuter Plural affix शि in their original state. They must be parts of a neuter compound, to admit this affix. Hence we have used words "when the stem *ends* in इन् &c."

Thus बहुदण्डीनि and बहुच्छत्रीणि। बहुवृत्रहाणि। बहुभ्रूणहाणि। बहुपूषाणि। बह्वर्यमाणि॥ सिद्धे सत्यारम्भो नियमार्थः। इन्हन्पूषार्यम्णामुपधायाः शावेव दीर्घो भवति नान्यत्र। दण्डिनौ। छत्रिणौ। वृत्रहणौ। पूषणौ। अर्यमणौ॥

Though this result could have been obtained by VI. 4. 8, the special mention of these words shows that except in Accusative and Nom. Pl. the lengthening does not take place in other strong cases. As दण्डिनौ, छत्रिणौ, वृत्रहणौ, पूषणौ, अर्यमणौ॥

Kârikâ :—Regarding the rule of lengthening taught about इन् &c here, let the wise reader, after making a restrictive rule with regard to सुट् (sarvanâmas thâna) affixes in general, make again another rule regarding the affix शि in particular, (i. e., make a yoga-bibhâga). By so doing, the form भ्रूणहानि (Loc. sin.) of the Achârya, will not be found fault with.

2. (But if yoga-vibhaga be not made) then I rule that the anuvritti of सुट् being dropped, let the rule be made with regard to शि affix in general (without regarding it as a Sarvanâmasthâna affix). And as the rule of lengthening applies to penultimates, there would arise no fault, if the vowel of हन् is lengthened before the demonstrative affix य (in words like वृत्रहायते=वृत्रहा इव आचरति, This refers to VII, 4. 25).

3. Or if the anuvritti of सुट् (Sarvanamasthana) be taken into this Sûtra, because of the context, then the mention of शि in this Sûtra, (would be redundant, because the word Sarvanâmasthâna includes it, so far as the strong cases are concerned) but it would find scope and utility in preventing the lengthening in those cases to which the context of Sarvanâmasthâna does not apply. That is, the Sarvanâmasthâna will be restricted with regard to इन् &c to the affix शि and not to सुट् affixes generally.

Note :—शि is the affix of the Nom. aud Acc. Pl. in Neuter (VII. 1. 20.) It it a Sarvanamasthana by I. 1. 42. But the word Sarvanamasthana may be read into this sutra from the preceding VI. 4. 8. What is then the necessity of employing शि in this? The above karika answers this.

In the case of हन् ending words, the subsequent rule VI. 4. 15, which required the lengthening of the penultimate vowel before an affix having an indicatory क् or ङ्, is however debarred by the present restrictive rule. Thus the Locative Singular (ङि) is वृत्रहनि, and भ्रूणहनि॥ How do you make this? By splitting up the present sutra into two parts, the first part being इन् हन् पूषार्यम्णाम्, and the second being शौ॥ It would then mean :—

(1) The penultimate vowel is lengthened, in strong cases only and no where else, when the stem ends in इन् or हन् or in पूषन् or अर्यमन् ॥ (2) So also it is lengthened before the strong case शि and no where else. These two restrictive rules therefore, would debar all other rules of penultimate lengthening which would otherwise have been applicable. But a rule which does not relate to *penultimate* vowel, is not debarred by this restriction, but does take effect. Thus वृत्रहायते, भ्रूणहायते denominative verbs in क्यङ् ॥

Or even though the Sarvanâmasthâna may be read into the sûtra by anuvṛitti, yet this may be considered a Restrictive Rule in general, and not only with regard to शि considered a Sarvanâmasthâna or a Neuter affix शि is the Sarvanâmasthâna affix of the Neuter: which has no other Sarvanâmasthâna, therefore, it is a general Niyama and not only a Sarvanâmasthâna or a Neuter niyama. Therefore in this niyama the word "नपुंसकस्य"—"of the Neuter"—is not to be taken.

For if it be taken, then the Sûtra would mean, the neuter stems in इन् &c are lengthened in शि only and no where else. The result would be that in examples like भ्रूणहनि ब्राह्मणकुले (loc. sin), there would be no lengthening at all (i.e. we shall never have the form भ्रूणहानि in loc. sin. by force of VI. 4. 15); moreover, by so doing, there would arise this anomaly also, that words other than Neuter would also not be lengthened.

The force of the definition of Sarvanâmasthâna applies to Neuter also in certain cases, therefore, any rule (niyama) made with regard to Sarvanâmasthâna would apply to Neuter also.

सौ च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, च, (उपधायाः दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सावसंबुद्धौ परत इन्हन्पूषार्यम्णामुपधाया दीर्घो भवति ॥

13. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in इन्, हन्, पूषन् or अर्यमन् are lengthened before the affix सु of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus दण्डी, वृत्रहा, पूषा, अर्यमा ॥ The न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7, and the case-affix by VI. 1. 68. In the Vocative singular we have हे दण्डिन्, हे पूषन्, हे वृत्रहन् हे अर्यमन् ॥

अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतु, असन्तस्य, च, अधातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अतु अस् इत्येवमन्तस्य अधातोरुपधायाः सावसंबुद्धौ परतो दीर्घो भवति ॥

14. In the Nominative Singular (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) the penultimate vowel is lengthened in a stem ending in अतु, and अस् when the consonant (अस्) does not belong to a root.

Thus भवान् (with डवतुप् Uṇ I. 63 from भा to shine), कृतवान् (with क्तवतु); गोमान् and यवमान् (with मतुप्) ॥ The नुम् (न्) is added to the above by VII. 1. 70, after the elongation has taken place, for if added *before* elongation, the

vowel no longer being *penultimate*, will not be lengthened at all. अस् :—as सुपयाः, सुयशाः, सुश्रोताः ॥ Why do we say 'not belonging to a dhâtu'? Observe पिण्डग्रः where स् belongs to the root ग्रस् (पिण्डं ग्रसते), so also चर्मवः (चर्म वस्ते) ॥ The अस् having no significance as an affix &c is also included here, on the strength of the maxim "whenever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are taught in Grammar denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with these, there they represent these combination of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning". (अनिनस्मन् ग्रहानि अर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति) ॥ The word अन्त in the sûtra indicates whatever *ends* in अतु whether when first enunciated (उपदेश), such as डवतु, क्तवतु &c, or which assumes the form अतु in grammatical inflection, such as मतुप् which in upadeśa ends in अतुप्, but becomes अतु in प्रयोग or application. In Vocative singular we have हे गोमन्, हे सुपयः this rule not applying there.

अनुनासिकस्य क्विझलोः क्ङिति ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुनासिकस्य, क्वि, झलोः, क्ङिति, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्य उपधाया दीर्घो भवति क्विप्रत्यये परतो झलादौ च क्ङिति ॥

15. The penultimate vowel of a stem, ending in a nasal, is lengthened before the affix क्वि, and before an affix having an indicatory क् or ङ्, which begins with a consonant other than a semivowel or a nasal.

Thus प्रशान् and प्रतान् from the roots शम् and तम् by VIII. 2. 64. So also before an affix beginning with a झल् consonant (any consonant but a nasal and a semivowel). As शान्तः (with क्त), शान्तवान् (with क्तवतु), शान्त्वा (with क्त्वा), and शान्तिः (with क्तिन्). These are all formed with कित् affixes. As to ङित् affixes we have शंशान्तः and तन्तान्तः formed by तस् 3rd Person Dual added to the Intensive roots शम् and तम् ॥ तस् is ङित् by I. 2. 4. Why do we say 'ending in a Nasal'? Observe ओदनपक्, पक्तः, पक्तवान् ॥ Why do we say 'before क्वि and jhalâdi affix'? Observe गम्यते, रम्यते ॥ Why do we say a ङित् or a कित् affix? Observe गन्ता and रन्ता ॥

अज्झनगमां सनि ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, हन्, गमाम्. सनि, (वा दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्तानामङ्गानां हनिगम्योश्च सनि झलादौ परे वा दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गमेरिङादेशस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16, The lengthening of the vowel takes place in the case of a stem ending in a vowel, as well as of हन् and गम्, when the Desiderative affix सन् being jhalâdi (i. e. not taking the augment इट्) follows.

Thus of roots ending in vowel we have :—चिचीषति, तुष्टूषति, चिकीर्षति, जिहीर्षति (VII. 1. 100); of हन् and गम्, जिघांसति, and अधिजिगांसते ॥

Vârt:—The rule applies to that गम् which is the substitute of इङ् (II. 4. 48) 'to study'. Therefore, not here, संजिगंसते वत्सो मात्रा (cf. VII. 2. 58); In the Veda we read स्वर्गं लोकं समजिगांसत्, where though गम् means 'to go' and is not, therefore, the substitute of इङ्, the lengthening takes place by the rule VI. 3, 137. Or the word अच् should not be added in the sûtra at all: which should be read as हनगमां सनि meaning "There is lengthening of the stem when the Desiderative सन् follows". This would apply of course, to vowel-ending stems, because the sentence would mean that, for there cannot be lengthening of a consonant. This will apply to गम् also, in this way:—"A stem ending in a vowel is lengthened in the Desiderative, and so also of गम् which is a substitute of the vowel-stem इ" ॥ In this way, we may see, that there is no necessity of the Vârtika.

तनोतेर्विभाषा ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनोतेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनोतेरङ्गस्य सनि झलादौ विभाषा दीर्घो भवति ॥

17. The lengthening of the stem of तन् is optional, before the Desiderative सन्, when it does not take the augment इट् ॥

Thus तितांसति or तितंसति ॥ But in तितनिषति no alternative is allowed, as इट् is added to सन् by VII. 2. 49 Vârt: optionally.

क्रमश्च क्त्वि ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रमः, च, क्त्वि, (झलि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम उपधाया विभाषा दीर्घो भवति क्त्वाप्रत्यये झलादौ परतः ॥

18. The penultimate of क्रम् is optionally lengthened, before the affix क्त्वा, when it is without the augment इट् ॥

Thus क्रन्त्वा or क्रान्त्वा; but क्रमित्वा only, with इट् augment. But when क्त्वा is replaced by ल्यप्, the rule does not apply: as प्रक्रम्य, उपक्रम्य ॥ This is on the maxim अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गोल्यप् बाधते 'a bahiranga substitution of ल्यप् supersedes even antaranga rule".

च्छ्वोः शूडनुनासिके च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ च्छ्वोः, शूठ्, अनुनासिके, च, (क्विझलोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छ इत्येतस्य सतुकस्य वकारस्य च स्थाने यथासंख्यं श ऊठ् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः, अनुनासिकादौ प्रत्यये परतः क्वौ झलादौ च क्ङिति ॥

19. For च्छ (including the augment तुक्) is substituted श्, and for व is substituted ऊठ्, before an affix beginning with a Nasal, as well as before क्वि and jhalâdi ङित् and कित् affixes (VI. 4. 15).

Thus प्रश्नः, विश्नः from प्रच्छ and विच्छ, with the affix नङ् (III. 3. 90) the च्छ being replaced by श ॥ Similarly from the root सिव् we have स्योनः thus: सिव् + न (Un III. 9). = सि + ऊ + न = स्यू + न = स्योनः (VII. 3. 84). Here the ऊ is added to the stem prior to the scope being given to the guṇa rule of VII. 3. 86, otherwise the form would be सिव् + न = सेव् + न = से + ऊ + न ॥ Having thus added ऊ,

before scope could be given to the guṇa rule VII. 3. 86, we make sandhi of सि+ऊ=स्यू, because semivowel substitution is antaranga operation and of wider scope than guṇa, and the maxim of वार्णादाङ्गं बलीयो भवति has no scope here. "An operation which is taught in the Angâdhikâra, and affects the anga or stem, possesses greater force than an operation which concerns a combination of letters (i. e. is taught in a sandhi rule)".

With क्विप् we have शब्दप्राट् formed with क्विप् (Uṇ II. 57) added to प्रच्छ, there is no vocalisation of the semivowel र, and there is lengthening of अ, and च्छ changed to श. So also गोविट् ॥

Of the change of व into ऊ we have the following :—अक्षद्यूः, हिरण्यद्यूः (दिव्+क्विप्=दि+ऊ=द्यूः) ॥ Here the ऊ substitution is Bahiranga, and दि+ऊ=द्यू, the change of इ into य is antaranga, therefore on the maxim of असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे (a bahiranga is non-existent for the purposes of an antaranga), there should be no change of इ into य, for ऊ is non-existent. That maxim is however set aside by नाजानन्तर्ये बहिष्ट्वप्रक्लृप्तिः "A bahiranga operation is not regarded as bahiranga, and consequently asiddha, when an antaranga operation is to take effect, which depends on the immediate sequence of a vowel and something else".

So also before a jhalâdi affix; as प्रच्छ+क्त=पृष्टः, पृष्टवान् (क्तवतु), पृष्ट्वा (क्त्वा); here च्छ is changed to श, there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, and श changed to ष by VIII. 2. 36.

So also व is changed to ऊ as, द्यूतः, द्यूतवान्, द्यूत्वा ॥

When the affixes are not ङित् or कित्, the rule does not apply: as द्युभ्याम्, द्युभिः ॥ Some do not read the anuvritti of कित् and ङित् into this sûtra, and explain द्युभ्याम् and द्युभिः by VI. 1. 131 : उ short being substituted for व of दिव् ॥

In "छशां ष" (VIII. 2. 36) the letter छ should not be taken, because by the force of the present sûtra, श is ordained to come every where in the place of छ ॥

The indicatory ठ् in ऊठ् is for the sake of distinguishing this ऊ in sûtras like एत्येधत्यूठ्सु (VI. 1. 89). In the sutra वाह ऊठ् (VI. 4. 132) there is also indicatory ठ् ॥

ज्वरत्वरश्रिव्यविमवामुपधायाश्च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्वर, त्वर, श्रिवि, अवि, मवाम्, उपधायाः, च, (क्विझलोः वस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्वर त्वर श्रिवि अव मव इत्येतेषामङ्गानां वकारस्य उपधायाश्च स्थाने ऊडित्ययमादेशो भवति क्वौ परतो ऽनुनासिके झलादौ च क्ङिति ॥

20. In ज्वर, त्वर् श्रिव्, अव्, and मव्, before the above-mentioned affixes (क्वि, a Nasal or a jhalâdi 'कित्' or ङित्) there is the single substitution of ऊठ् for the व and the vowel preceding the final consonant.

Thus जूः, जूरौ, जूरः, जूर्त्तिः ॥ त्वरः—तूः, तूरौ, तूरः, तूर्णिः ॥ श्रिविः—श्रूः, श्रुवौ, श्रुवः, श्रूतः श्रूतवान, श्रूतिः ॥ अव्ः—ऊः, उवौ, उवः, ऊतिः ॥ मवः—मूः, मुवौ, मुवः, मूतः, मूतवान्, मूतिः ॥ ज्वरत्वरो रुपधा वकारात् परा, श्रिव्य वमवां पूर्वा ॥

In ज्वर् and त्वर् the ऊ replaces व् as well as the अ which *follows* व्; and in श्रिव्, अव् and मव् it replaces the व् and the vowel इ and अ which *precede* व् ॥ Another reading is स्निव् ॥

राल्लोपः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्, लोपः, (क्विझलोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेफादुत्तरयोश्छ्वोर्लोपो भवति क्वौ परतो झलादौ क्ङिति च परतः ॥

21. After र् there is the elision of छ and व् before 'क्वि' and jhalâdi 'कित्' and 'ङित्' affixes.

Thus from मुर्छा—मूर्, मुरौ, मुरः, मूर्तः मूर्तवान्, मूर्तिः, the त of Nishṭhâ is not changed into न by VIII. 2. 57. So also from हुर्छा we have हूर्, हुरौ, हुरः, हूर्णः, हूर्णवान्, हूर्त्तिः ॥ So also the व is elided, as from तूर्वीः—तूर्, तुरौ, तुरः, तूर्णः, तूर्णवान्, तूर्त्तिः ॥ धुर्वीः—धूः, धुरौ, धुरः, धूर्णः, धूर्णवान्, धूर्त्ति ॥

असिद्धवदत्राऽऽभात् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ असिद्धवत्, अत्र, आभात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असिद्धवदित्ययमधिकारो यदित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्याम आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेस्तद् असिद्धवद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वुग्युटावुवङ्यणोः सिद्धौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. The change, which a stem will undergo by the application of any of the rules from this sûtra upto VI. 4. 129, is to be considered as not to have taken effect, when we have to apply any other rule of this very section VI. 4. 23 to 129.

This is an adhikâra rule. The above translation is given according to Prof. Bohtlingk. According to Kâsika the असिद्धवत् extends up to the end of the chapter. Dr. Ballantyne translates it thus :—"The rules, reckoning from this one to the end of the chapter, are called Abhîya, because the chapter ends with a series of rules dependant on the aphorism 'bhasya' VI. 4. 129. When that (i. e. one of the âbhîya rules) is to be brought into operation, having the same place for coming into operation as another âbhiya, which has already taken effect, that one which has taken effect, shall be regarded as not having taken effect".

The word आभात् means 'up to भ' i. e. upto VI. 4. 129. in which last sûtra the word भ occurs : i. e. in applying the rules taught upto VI. 4. 129. The word अत्र shows that the two rules must have the same आश्रय or place of operation, where their places of operation are different, they are not asiddha to each other. The word असिद्ध shows that an utsarga or general rule must take effect, as if existing in spite of a special rule, and that an 'âdeśa' or substitution taught by another rule should not be considered to have taken effect in applying the special rule. Thus in forming एधि and शाधि (Imperative 2nd person)

ए is first substituted for अस् 'to be' by VI, 4. 119: and शा for शास् by VI. 4. 35 and then is धि added by VI. 4. 101. The latter rule says that धि is added in the Imperative, only after those roots which end in a consonant of झल् class. Now अस् and शास् end in a *jhal* consonant, and can take धि, but their substitute ए and शा end in a vowel and not a consonant and should not take धि ॥ The present rule helps us here, and for the application of धि (VI. 4. 101) the substitution of ए for अस् or शा for शास् should be considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect. Similarly in आगहि (Vedic Imperative, शप् being elided by II. 4. 73) and जहि from गम् and हन्, the nasal being elided in the case of गम्, VI. 4. 36 and ज being substituted for हन् (VI. 2. 36) we have the stems आग and ज, which ending in अ would require the elision of हि by VI. 4. 105. But since the change of ज &c is not regarded as having been accomplished, the elision of हि does not take place.

Why do we say आभात् 'up to VI. 4. 129'? In applying any other rule the changes ordained by âbhiya rules would not be considered as asiddha. Thus अभाजि and रागः from भञ्ज् and रञ्ज ॥ Here the nasals of rañj and bhañj have been elided by VI. 4. 27-28 and 33 before the affixes घञ् and चिण् respectively, and we have the stems रज्, and भज् to which rule VII. 2. 116 applies and we have Vṛiddhi of अ preceding the final consonant. Had the elision of the nasal been considered as non-effective for the purposes of VII. 2. 116, then अ could not have taken Vṛiddhi, as it would not then be उपधा or penultimate.

Why do we use the word अत्र in the aphorism? The rules are asiddha to each other with regard to a common place of operation and not otherwise. Thus पा + वस् (क्वसु) + अस् (शस् Acc. Pl). = पपा + उस् + अस् (VI. 4. 131 vocalisation of व). If this उ substitute be considered as asiddha for the purposes of sûtra VI. 4. 64, then we cannot elide the आ of पा, because आ is not then followed by a vowel (उ being non-existent). उ however is not considered as asiddha, and आ being thus elided, we have पपुषः in पपुषः पश्य ॥ Similarly चि + वस् + अस् = चिचि + उस् + अस् ॥ Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we apply rule VI. 4. 82, and substitute य for उ as चिच्युषः पश्य ॥ Similarly लू + वस् + अस् लुलू + उस् + अस् = लुलुवुषः ॥ Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we change the ऊ of लू into उव् by VI. 4. 77. In all the above three cases, the elision of आ, or change of इ to य, or of ऊ to उव्, takes place in reference to वस्, while the samprasâraṇa of व takes place with reference to the Accusative plural case-ending अस् which makes the stem Bha. So they have not the same आश्रय ॥ Nor does the maxim of असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे apply here, because the special maxim of Abhîya governs the sûtras of this section, so there cannot be the relation of Antaranga and Bahiranga among these sûtras, simultaneously with their being asiddha to each other.

Vârt:—The substitute वुक् (VI. 4. 88), and युट् (VI. 4. 63) should however be considered as not asiddha, and rule VI. 4. 77 teaching उवङ् and VI. 4. 82, teaching यू substitution should not be applied simultaneously with them. Thus भू—बभूव, बभूवतुः बभूवः with वुक्, and उपदिदीये, उपदिदीयाते, उपदिदीयिरे with युट् of VI. 4. 63. In the case of भू, when वुक् is added, there is not the addition of उवङ्, and in the case of दीङ्, when युट् is added, there is not यणादेश ॥

The आ in आभात् has the force of limit inclusive, so that, the asiddha rule applies to the sûtras governed by भ ॥

श्नान्नलोपः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्नात्, न लोपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्नादिति श्नमयमुत्सृष्टमकारो गृह्यते तत उत्तरस्य नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

23. After श्न, which is added to the roots of the seventh class as a characteristic (i. e. the vikaraṇa श्नम्), there is the elision of the following न ॥

Thus अनक्ति and भनक्ति from अञ्ज 'to anoint', and भञ्ज 'to break'. Thus अञ्ज् + श्नम् + तिप् = अनञ्ज् + ति (I. 1. 47) = अनज् + ति (VI. 4. 23) = अनक्ति ॥ So also हिनस्ति from हिंसि (हिन्स्) 'to injure'. Why do we say 'after श्न' and not merely 'after न', without the indicatory श? Observe यज्ञानाम्, यत्नानाम्, where the न of नाम् is not elided after the न of यज्ञ and यत्न, the lengthening of अ by VII. 3. 102 being sthânivat would not have prevented the elision. In the case of विश्नानाम् and प्रश्नानाम् (formed by विश्न + नाम् and प्रश्न + नाम्) also, the न of नाम् is not elided after श्न of विश्न ॥ For the श्न of the sûtra is the *technical* श्न the vikaraṇa, and not any combination of the letters श and न ॥ The pratipadokta maxim applies here. लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम् ॥

अनिदितां हल उपधायाः क्ङिति ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनिदिताम्, हलः, उपधायाः, क्ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिदितामङ्गानां हलन्तानामुपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनिदितां नलोप लङ्गिकम्प्योरुपतापशरीरविकारयोरुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ रञ्जेर्णौ मृगरमणउपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ घिनुणि च रञ्जेरुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम ॥

वा० ॥ रजकरजनरजः सूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

24. In a root-stem ending in a consonant preceded by न्,—this न not being added to the root owing to its having an indicatory इ (VII. 1. 58)—the न् is elided when an affix having an indicatory क् or ङ् follows.

Thus from स्रन्स् and ध्वन्स् are formed स्रस्तः and ध्वस्तः with क्त, स्रस्यते, ध्वस्यते with यक्, सनीस्रस्यते, दनीध्वस्यते with यङ् the नी being added by VII. 4. 84. But नन्द्यते and नानन्द्यते, the न् is not elided, the root being written in the Dhâtupâṭha as टुनदि समृद्धौ, and न being added by VII. 1. 58. Why do we say ending in a consonant? Observe नीयते, नेनीयते from नी which has a penulti-

mate nasal, but ends in a vowel. Why do we say 'penultimate'? Observe नह्यते, नानह्यते ॥ Why do we say having an indicatory क or ङ? Observe स्रंसनं, ध्वंसनं with ल्युट् ॥

Vârt:—The roots लङ्ग (लगि) and कम्प् (कपि) are exceptions, where meaning 'to feel pain or difficulty' and 'a disease of the body'. These, though exhibited in the Dhâtupaṭha with an indicatory इ, are treated as exceptions to the rule of अनिदित्: thus विलगितः and विकपितः, when not having the above meanings, we have विलङ्गितं and विकम्पितं ॥

Vârt:—The causative of the root रञ्ज, loses its nasal when meaning 'to hunt deer': as, रजयति मृगान् 'he hunts the deer', but रञ्जयति वस्त्राणि 'he colors the clothes'.

Vârt:—रञ्ज loses its nasal before the affix घिनुण्, as रागी ॥

Vârt:—The words रजकः, रजनम्, and रजः are formed from रञ्ज by the elision of the nasal.

दंशसञ्जस्वञ्जां शपि ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दंश, सञ्ज, स्वञ्जाम्, शपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दंश सञ्ज ष्वञ्ज इत्येतेषामङ्गानां शपि परत उपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

25. The nasal of दंश्, संज् and स्वञ्ज् is elided before the vikaraṇa शप् of the roots of the 1st class.

Thus दशति, सजति and परिष्वजते for the change of the स् of स्वञ्ज् to ष see VIII. 3. 65

रञ्जेश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रञ्जेः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रञ्जेश्च शपि परत उपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

26. The nasal of रञ्ज is also elided before शप् ॥

As रजति, रजतः, रजन्ति ॥ The separation of this from the preceding is for the sake of the subsequent sûtras in which the anuvṛiti of rañj only runs and not of dañs &c.

घञि च भावकरणयोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञि, च, भावकरणयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावकरणवाचिनि घञि परतो रञ्जेरुपधाया नकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

27. The penultimate nasal of रञ्ज् is elided before घञ्, when the word formed with it expresses a state or an instrument.

Thus रागः 'passion, color, or the coloring stuff'. Thus आश्चर्यो रागः, विचित्र रागः denote भाव, while रज्यतेऽनेनेति रागः denotes instrument. The घञ् is added by III. 3. 121; and ज् changed to ग् by VII. 3. 52. But रङ्गः = रजन्ति तस्मिन् 'a theatre;

स्यदो जवे ॥ २८ ॥ स्यदः, जवे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जवे ऽभिधेये स्यद इति घञि निपात्यते । स्यन्देर्नलोपो वृद्ध्यभावश्च ॥

28. The word स्यद is formed by घञ् in the sense of 'speed'.

This word is derived from स्यन्द् the nasal is elided, and the Vriddhi prohibited irregularly. Though the ârdhadhâtuka affix घञ् causes here the elision of a portion of the root, viz of न् of स्यन्द्, yet rule I. 1. 4 does not apply here. That rule prohibits Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, only in case of इक् vowels, here the Vṛiddhi is prevented with regard to अ ॥ The prevention of this Vṛiddhi is irregular and not governed by I. 1. 4. Thus गोस्यदः' अश्वस्यदः meaning "cow-speed," "horse-speed." but तैलस्यन्दः, and घृतस्यन्दः meaning "dripping of oil or ghee".

अवोदैधौद्मप्रश्रथहिमश्रथाः ॥२९॥ पदानि ॥ अवोद, एध, ओद्म, प्रश्रथ, हिमश्रथाः

वृत्तिः ॥ अवोद एध ओद्मप्रश्रथ हिमश्रथ इत्येते निपात्यन्ते ।

29. अवोद, एध, ओद्म, प्रश्रथ, and हिमश्रथ are irregularly formed by the elision of न ॥

Thus उन्द्—अव + उन्द् + घञ् = अवोदः ; इन्ध् + घञ् = एधः, the guṇa is irregular, for I. 1. 4 applied here, and prevented guṇa. उन्द् + मन् = ओद्म (Uṇadi मन्). प्र + श्रन्थ + घञ = प्रश्रथः (The want of Vṛiddhi is the irregularity). So also हिमश्रथः ॥

नाञ्चेः पूजायाम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अञ्चेः, पूजायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चेः पूजायामर्थे नकारस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

30. The nasal of अञ्च is not elided when the meaning is to honor.

Thus अञ्चिता अस्य गुरवः, अञ्चितमिव शिरो वहति ॥ The इट् augment is added by VII. 2. 53. When the sense is not that of 'honoring', we have उदक्तमुदकं कूपात् "the water was *drawn* from the well." Here the इट् is prohibited by VII. 2. 15.

क्त्वि स्कन्दिस्यन्दोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्त्वि, स्कन्दि, स्यन्दोः, (न लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्यये परतः स्कन्द स्यन्द इत्येतयोर्नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

31. स्कन्द् and स्यन्द retain their nasal before the affix क्त्व ॥

Thus स्कन्त्वा, and स्यन्दित्वा or स्यन्त्वा, the इट् being added when स्यन्द is considered as having an indicatory ऊ in the dhatupâtha. When इट् is added, क्त्वा is no longer कित् by virtue of the rule I. 2. 18, and elision would not take place, for no rule of elision would apply in that case.

जान्तनशां विभाषा ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जान्त, नशाम्, विभाषा (न लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जान्तानामङ्गानां नशेश्च क्त्वाप्रत्यये परतो विभाषा नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

32. The nasal may be optionally elided before क्त्वा in a root ending in ज् and in नश् ॥

Thus रङ्क्त्वा or रक्त्वा, भङ्क्त्वा or भक्त्वा, नष्ट्वा or नंष्ट्वा See ॥ VII. 1. 60 for the augment न् in नश् ॥ When इट् comes, we have नशित्वा ॥

भञ्जेश्च चिणि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भञ्जेः, च, चिणि, (विभाषा न लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भञ्जेश्च चिणि परतो विभाषा नकारलोपो भवति ॥

33. The nasal may be optionally elided in भञ्ज before the third person Passive of the Aorist in चिण् (इ)

Thus अभाजि or अभञ्जि ॥ This is an aprâpta vibhâshâ, and teaches for the first time the elision of न in a certain contingency.

शास इदङ्हलोः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शासः, इत्, अङ्, हलोः, (क्ङिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शास उपधाया इकारादेशो भवति अङि परतो हलादौ च क्ङिति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्वौ च शास इत्वं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ क्विप् प्रत्यये तस्यापि भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. Before the Aorist in अङ् and before an affix beginning with a consonant having an indicatory क् or ङ्, there is the substitution of इ for the vowel of शास् ॥

Thus अन्वशिषत्, अन्वशिषताम् and अन्वशिषन्; so also शिष्टः (with क्त), शिष्टवान् (with क्तवतु), तौ शिष्टः वयं शिष्मः (with the tense-affixes तः and मः which are ङित् by I. 2. 4). The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 60. Why do we say 'before the affixes of अ Aorist and consonant affixes'? Observe शासति, शशासतु, शशासुः ॥

Vart:—There is the substitution of इ for the vowel of शास् before the affix क्वि ॥ As आर्यशीः = आर्यान् शास्ति ॥ So also मित्रशीः ॥ The form is thus evolved, शास् + क्वि = शिस् + ० = शिर + ० = शीः (the short इ being lengthened by VIII. 2. 76.

The root शास् is that root which takes अङ् aorist; namely the second Adâdi शास् (शासु अनुशिष्टौ), and not the Bhvâdi and the first Adâdi शास (आङ् शासु इच्छायाम्) ॥ Therefore not here आशास्ते, आशास्यमानः ॥

Vârt:—But before क्विप्, this शास् also is changed, as आशीः, आशिषौ, आशिषः॥ Or this is an irregular form indicated by the author in the word क्षियाशीः used in VIII. 2. 104.

शा हौ ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, हौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शासो हौ परतः शा इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

35. Before the Imperative affix हि, शा is substituted for शास् ॥

Thus अनुशाधि, प्रशाधि ॥ The हि is changed to धि by VI. 4. 101. See VI 4. 22. The anuvritti of उपधायाः is not here; so शा is substituted in the room of the full word शास् and not only for the penultimate vowel of शास् ॥ The anuvritti of कित् and ङित् also is not here. Therefore, when this हि is treated as पित् (III. 4. 88), then too the substitution takes place, though a पित् Sárvadhâtuka is not ङित् (I. 2. 4). Thus शाधि is also found in the Vedas as having acute on the first syllable, which can only be when धि is पित् and consequently anudâtta (III. 1. 4)

हन्तेर्जः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्तेः, जः, (हौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोर्ज इत्ययमादेशो भवति हौ परतः ॥

36. ज is substituted for हन् before हि ॥

Thus जहि शत्रून् ॥

अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो झलि क्ङिति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तोपदेश, वनति, तनोत्यादीनाम्, अनुनासिक लोपः, झलि, क्ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तोपदेशानामङ्गानां वनतेस्तनोत्यादीनां चानुनासिकलोपो भवति झलादौ क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

37. The final nasal of those roots which in the Dhâtupâṭha have an unaccented root-vowel, as well as of वन and तन &c, is elided before an affix beginning with a consonant (except a semi-vowel or nasal), when these have an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus यमु gives us यत्वा (with क्त्वा), यतः (with क्त), यतवान् (with क्तवतु), यतिः (with क्तिन्), Similarly रमु gives us रत्वा, रतः, रतवान्, रतिः ॥ यम्, रम्, नम्, गम्, हन् and मन् which end in a nasal are to be considered as unaccented roots, though taught as accented in the Dhâtupâtha. So also of वन्: i. e. वतिः with क्तिन्; with क्तिच् the nasal is not elided as वन्तिः; (VI. 4. 39): and before other jhalâdi affixes व, retains न् as all those affixes take the augment इट् ॥ The तनादि roots belong to the eighth class. Thus ततः, ततवान्. The Tanâdi roots are ten in number, तन् सन्, क्षण्, क्षिण्, ऋण्, तृण, घृण्, वन्, मन् and कृञ् ॥ Of these सन् takes long आ also (VI. 4. 45). क्षण्—क्षतः, क्षतवान्, ऋण्—ऋतः, ऋतवान् ; तृण्—तृतः, तृतवान् ; घृण्—घृतः घृतवान्; वन्—वतः, वतवान् ; मन्—मतः, मतवान् ॥

Why do we say before a ङित् affix? Observe अतत, अतथाः (I. 2. 11 these affixes are ङित्) So also not in शान्तः, शान्तवान्, तान्तः, तान्तवान्, दान्तः, दान्तवान्, not being anudâtta in the Dhâtupâṭha. If the root does not end in a nasal, the rule does not apply, as in पक्वः, पक्ववान् ॥ If the affix does not begin with a *jhal* consonant, the rule does not apply: as गम्यते, रम्यते ॥ If the affix is not कित् or ङित् the rule does not apply: as, यन्ता, यन्तव्यम् ॥ Why do we say "anudâtta by *upadesa*"? So that the rule may apply to गम् root, as गतिः, but not to शम्, as शान्तः शान्तवान् ॥ For गँतिः is formed by क्तिन् affix and is accented with udâtta on the first, but it is a secondary udâtta and not of upadeśa or dhâtupâṭha, and does not prevent the elision of म् of गम ॥ Similarly शम is udâtta-upadesa though in शान्त it has become अनुदात्तः ॥ The former though taught in the Dhâtupâṭha as udâtta, has been specifically mentioned above as anudâtta, and शम् is taught as udatta in the Dhâtupâṭha, and no where *else* taught as anudâtta.

वा ल्यपि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ल्यपि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि परतो ऽनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो वा भवति ॥

38. The nasal of the above roots (i. e. anudâtta ending in a nasal, and वन and तनादि) is optionally elided before the Absolutive affix ल्यप् ॥

This is a vyavasthita-vibhâshâ. The option applies to roots ending in म्. In the case of roots ending in other nasals, the elision is compulsory. Thus प्रयत्य or प्रयम्य, प्ररत्य or प्ररम्य, प्रणत्य or प्रणम्य, आगत्य आगम्य, but no option in आहत्य, प्रमत्य, प्रवत्य, प्रक्षत्य ॥

न क्तिचि दीर्घश्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्तिचि, दीर्घः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तिचि परतो ऽनुदात्तोपदेशादीनामनुनासिकलोपो दीर्घश्च न भवति ।

39. Before the affix क्तिच्, the above roots neither drop their nasal nor lengthen their root-vowel.

The above roots i. e. anudâttopadeśa, ending in a nasal, and वन and तनादि, do not lose their nasal before क्तिच्. Thus यन्तिः, तन्तिः, वन्तिः ॥ The lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 15, when the nasal was not elided: that also is prohibited.

गमः क्वौ ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, क्वौ, (अनुनासिकलोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकलोप इति वर्तते । गमः क्वौ परतो ऽनुनासिकलोपो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गमादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ ऊङ् च गमादीनामितिवक्तव्यम् ॥

40. The nasal of गम् is always elided before क्वि ॥

Thus अङ्गगत्, कलिङ्गगत्, अध्वगतो हरयः ॥ The त् is added by VI. 1. 71.

Vârt:—It should be stated of गम् and the rest. The elision takes place here also संयत्, परीतत् ॥

Vârt:—The nasal of गम् &c. is elided before ऊङ्: as, अग्रेगूः, अग्रेभ्रूः ॥

विड्वनोरनुनासिकस्यात् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विट्-वनोः, अनुनासिकस्य आत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विटि वनो च प्रत्यये परतो ऽनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्याकार आदेशोभवति ॥

41. A stem ending in a nasal, and followed by the affix विट् or वन्, always substitutes long आ for its nasal.

Thus अब्जाः, गोजाः, ऋतजाः, अद्रिजाः, गोषाः (e. g. गोषा इन्द्रोनृषा असि Rig V.), कूपखाः, शतखाः, सहस्रखाः, दधिक्राः, अग्रेगा उन्नेतणाम् ॥ The affix विट् (which is totally elided) is added under III. 2. 67. The स of सन् is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 108. in गोषा ॥ With the affix वन् we have the following:—विजावा, अग्रेजावा (III. 2. 75). The repetition of the word अनुनासिक in this sûtra shows that the limitation of anudâttopadeśa &c. which applied to the अनुनासिक of sûtra VI. 4. 37 does not apply here.

जनसनखनां सञ्झलोः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-खनाम् सन्-झलोः, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जन सन खन इत्येतेषामङ्गानां सनि झलादौ झ्लिति झलादौ प्रत्यय परत आकार आदेशो भवति ।

42. The long आ is substituted for the final of जन्, सन् and खन् before the consonant beginning Desiderative affix सन्, and before any other affix beginning with a jhal consonant, which has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus जातः, जातवान्, जातिः, सातः, सातवान्, सातिः, सिषासति; खातः, खातवान्, खातिः॥ In जन् and खन् the Desiderative does not begin with a consonant, but takes the augment इट्, the न् is not therefore elided, as जिजनिषति, चिखनिषति ॥ In the case of the root सन्, the Desiderative takes इ, so we have two forms सिषासति and सिसनिषति (VII. 2. 49). The Desiderative has, therefore, been mentioned in the aphorism, only for the sake of the root सन ॥

If the phrase सन्झलोः be taken to mean 'the Desiderative beginning with a consonant', then we should read the anuvṛitti of झलि क्ङिति from the preceding sûtras, to complete the sense of this; and if the phrase means "when the Desiderative of a jhalâdi affix follows", then we should qualify the word Desiderative by the word jhal from the preceding sûtras. Or we may divide the sûtra into two (1) Before a कित् or ङित् jhalâdi affix long आ is the substitute of the न् of 'jan', 'san' and 'khan'. (2) And so is the case, when the Desiderative affix follows, not having the augment इ, for then also the न् of 'jan', 'san' and 'khan' is replaced by long आ ॥

The न् of the root सन् would have required elision by VI. 4. 37, because this verb belongs to Tanâdi class, still the आ substitution taught in this sûtra takes place, by preference, on the maxim of विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् (I. 4. 2). In fact, though in this section of asiddha (VI. 4. 22) one rule is considered as asiddha for the purposes of the operations of another rule, yet one rule *supersedes* another by the maxim of vipratisedha. That that maxim applies in this section also, is to be inferred from the employment of the term हल् in VI. 4. 66, which supersedes the lopa of आ taught in VI. 4. 64, and substitutes instead the long ई ॥

ये विभाषा ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, विभाषा, (जनसनखनाम् आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतो जनसनखनामाकार आदेशो भवति विभाषा ।

43. There is optionally the substitution of long आ for the finals of जन्, सन् and खन् before an affix beginning with य and marked with an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus जायते or जन्यते (with यक्) जाजायते or जञ्जन्यते (with यङ्) । So also सायते or सन्यते, सासायते, or संसन्यते, खायते, or खन्यते, चाखायते or चङ्खन्यते ॥ Before the vikaraṇa श्यन् of the Fourth class, which is ङित् according to I. 2. 4; the जा is *always* substituted for जन् by VII. 3. 79. No option is allowed there.

तनोतेर्यकि ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेनोतेः, यकि, (विभाषा आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनोतेर्यकि परतो विभाषा आकार आदेशो भवति ।

44. The long आ may be optionally substituted for the final of तन् before the Passive characteristic यक् ॥

Thus तायते or तन्यते; but no option is allowed in तन्तन्यते with यङ् ॥

सनः क्तिचि लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनः, क्तिचि, लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेरङ्गस्य क्तिचि प्रत्यये परत आकार आदेशो भवति लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ।

45. The long आ is optionally substituted for the final of सन् before the affix क्तिच्; and there is also elision optionally of the Nasal.

Thus we have three forms सातिः, सन्तिः and सतिः ॥ The word अन्यतरस्याम् 'optionally' has been employed in the sûtra for the sake of clearness only; for the विभाषा of VI. 4. 43 could have been read into it by annvṛitti. Lest any one should doubt, that the annvṛitti of विभाषा had ceased with the last aphorism, this word अन्यतरस्याम् is employed here.

आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातु के ।

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकइत्यधिकारो न ल्यपीति प्रागेतस्माद्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम आर्द्धधातुकइत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ।

46. From this upto VI. 4. 68 inclusive, is always to be supplied "before an affix called ârdhadhâtuka (III. 4. 114 &c)."

This is an adhikâra sûtra and extends upto VI. 4. 69 (exclusive). In all the sûtras upto VI. 4. 68 should be supplied the phrase "before an affix called ârdhadhâtuka". Thus VI. 4. 48 teaches "the अ standing at the end of a verbal stem is elided". To complete the sense we should add: "before an ardhadhâtuka affix". Thus the final अ of the verbal stem चिकीर्ष is elided before the ârdhâtuka affix तृ, as चिकीर्षितृ, जिहीर्षितृ, but the final अ is not elided before a sârvadhatuka affix, as the अ of भव in भवति, भवतः ॥ The *luk*-elision of शप् after roots of अदादि class, implies that there is never *lopa* of शप् ॥

The following purposes are served by this sûtra, i. e. an ârdhâtuka affix causes the following special changes (1) अतोलोपः— The elision of अ of a stem, as shown above, in चिकीर्षिता, चिकीर्षितुम्, (2) यलोपश्च, The elision of य by VI. 4. 49, 50: as बेभिदिता, बेभिदितुन्, बेभिदितव्यम् from बेभिद्य the Intensive stem. Before Sârvadhâtuka, we have बेभिद्यते, चेच्छिद्यते ॥ (3) णिलोपश्च प्रयोजनम्, The elision of णि by VI. 4. 51, as कारणा हारणा पाच्यते (पाचि + यक् + ते = पाच् + य + ते), याज्यते ॥ In Sârvadhâtuka, पाचयति, याजयति, कारयाति, हारयाति ॥ (4) आल्लोपः, the elision of आ, VI. 4. 64— as पपतुः, पपुः, ववतुः वुवुः, In Sârvadhâtuka, यान्ति, वान्ति (5) ईत्वम्— The substitntion of long ई for आ in some roots, VI. 4. 65 as धीयते, दीयते; in Sârvadhâtuka अदाताम्, अधाताम् (6) एत्वम्—The substitution of ए for आ, VI. 4. 68; as स्नेयात्, ग्लेयात्; in Sârvadhâtuka, स्नायात्, ग्लायात् ॥ This is confined to the Precative (âsirlin). (7) चिण्वद्भावश्च सीयुटि, the treatment of the Precative like Aorist Passive in चिण्, by VI. 4. 62. as कारिषीष्ट, हारिषीष्ट ॥ In Sârvadhâtuka, क्रियेत, ह्रियेत ॥

Kâsikâ:—अतो लोपो यलोपश्च णिलोपश्च प्रयोजनम् ।
आल्लोप ईत्वमेत्वं च चिण्वद्भावश्च सीयुटि ॥

भ्रस्जो रोपधयोरमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि । भ्रस्जः, र-उपधयोः, रम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रस्जो रेफस्योपधायाश्च रमन्यतरस्यां भवति ।

47. In the room of the र् and the penultimate letter स् of the root भ्रस्ज, there is optionally the substitute रम्, when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows.

The र् and स् cease to exist and र takes their place. The substitute having an indicatory म् comes after the final vowel (I. 1. 49). Thus भ्रस्ज+तृ= भर्ज+तृ= भर्ष्टा the ज being changed to ष by VIII. 2. 36, and त to ट by VIII. 4. 41. The other form will be भ्रष्टा; so also भ्रष्टुम् and भर्ष्टुम्, भ्रष्टव्यम् and भर्ष्टव्यम्, भ्रज्जनम् or भर्ज्जनम् ॥ But भृष्टः and भृष्टवान् by VI. 1. 16, in spite of this rule. The word उपदेश (VI. 4. 37). is understood here also. The rule therefore applies to the simple root bhrasj as originally taught in the Dhatupâṭha, and not to any Derivative root from it. As the Intensive (यङ्) is बरीभृज्ज्यते ॥

अतो लोपः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, लोपः, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तस्यार्द्धधातुके लोपो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृद्धिदीर्घाभ्यामतो लोपः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन ॥

48. The अ standing at the end of a stem is elided before an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

Thus चिकीर्षिता, चिकीर्षितुम्, and चिकीर्षितव्यम्, from the Desiderative stem चिकीर्ष ॥ So also धिनुतः and कृणुतः from the roots धिन्व् and कृण्व् thus, धिन्व्+उ (III. 1. 80)=धिन्+अ+उ (III, 1. 80)=धिन्+उ (अ being elided before the ârdhâtuka उ)=धिनु, the 3rd Personal dual of it is धिनुतः ॥ The addition of अ by III. 1. 80 and its subsequent elision by the present sûtra, may appear a redundancy, but the elided अ being sthânivat, prevents guṇa of धि ॥ So also कृणुतः ॥ See sûtra III. 1. 80. Why do we say "the अ is elided"? Observe चेता, स्तोता here इ and उ have not been elided. Why do we say "अतः with a त्"? The long आ will not be elided: as याता, वाता ॥ Why do we say 'before an Ardhadhâtuka'? Before a Sârvadhâtuka there will be no elision of अ nor before a Taddhita: as वृक्षत्वम् and वृक्षता ॥

Vârt:—The elision of such अ takes place even to the supersession of the subsequent rules relating to Vṛiddhi and lengthening. As चिकीर्षकः, जिहीर्षकः, चिकीर्ष्यते and जिहीर्ष्यते ॥

यस्य हलः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, हलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य यशब्दस्यार्द्धधातुके लोपो भवति ।

49. When a consonant precedes the final य in a verbal stem, this य is elided also before an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

Thus बेभिदिता, बेभिदितुम्, बेभिदितव्यम् from the Intensive stem बेभिद्य ॥ In the sûtra यस्य is given, which is the Genitive singular of य namely of the letters य् अ ॥ By the rule of अलोऽन्त्यस्य (I. 1. 52), the अ of य ought to be elided

and not य् ; but that rule is evidently inapplicable here, since the elision of अ would have taken place by the preceding rule : the present rule therefore teaches the elision of य (ya). Or the word हलः may be considered as in the ablative case, and then by I. 1. 54, the first letter would be elided namely य ॥ Why have we taken [the two letters (संघात) conjointly viz.] य and not य् ? Observe ईर्ष्यिता, मव्यिता, शुच्यिता from the simple *roots* ईर्ष्य्, मव्य्, and शुच्य् ॥ Here य् not being followed by अ, is not elided (see Bhvadi 541—546). Why do we say 'when preceded by a consonant?' Observe लोलूयिता, पोपूयिता ॥

क्यस्य विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यस्य, विभाषा, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यस्य हल उत्तरस्य विभाषा लोपो भवति आर्द्धधातुके ।

50. The elision of य of the Denominative stem (क्य) is optional, when preceded by a consonant and followed by an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

The क्य denotes the affixes क्यच् and क्यङ् ॥ Thus समिध्यिता or समिधिता, दृषद्यिता or दृषदिता meaning समिधमात्मन इच्छति or समिध इवाचरति &c.

णेरनिटि ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णेः, अनिटि, (आर्द्धधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिडादावार्द्धधातुके णेर्लोपो भवति ।

51. The इ of the verbal stem formed with the affix णि, is elided before an ârdhadhâtuka affix which does not take the augment इट् ॥

This debars इयङ्, the semi-vowel य, the guṇa, Vṛiddhi and the long substitutions. Thus अततक्षत्, अररक्षत्, आशिशत्, आटिटत्, कारणा, हारणा, कारकः, हारकः, कार्यते, हार्यते and ज्ञीप्सति (see VII. 4. 1 for the shortening of the stem of the Aorists in these). Why do we say 'not having the augment इट्?' Observe कारयिता and हारयिता ॥

निष्ठायां सेटि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठायाम्, सेटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठायां सेटि परतो णेर्लोपो भवति ।

52. The affix णि is elided before the affixes क्त and क्तवतु when these take the augment इट् ॥

Thus कारितम्, हारितम्, गणितम्, लक्षितम् ॥ Why do we say "before an ardhadhâtuka affix having the augment इट्"? Observe संज्ञपितः पशुः ॥ This is the part participle of the causative, the इ being the sign of the causative. By VII. 2. 15 read with VII. 2. 49, ज्ञप् is a root which takes no इट् augment in the Nishṭhâ. It may be objected that VII. 2. 15 preventing इट् augment applies to verbs of one syllable (VII. 2. 10), and the causative ज्ञपि being of two syllables will always have इट् in the Nishṭhâ, and so it is useless to use the word सेटि in the sûtra. The word सेटि in the sûtra fixes the *time* when the elision of णि should take place. Namely, *first* there should be added the

augment इट् and *then*, there should take place the elision of णि ॥ Otherwise we shall have this difficulty कारि + त, here let us elide the णि *first*: and we get कार् + त, now we cannot add इट् to त, for कार् being a verb of one syllable will not take इट् by VII. 2. 10. Therefore, the reverse process must be adopted. We must elide इट् *first*. For ज्ञपितः see also VII. 2. 27.

जनिता मन्त्रे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनिता, मन्त्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनितेति मन्त्रविषये इडादौ णिलोपो निपात्यते ।

53. In a Mantra, the word जनिता is formed irregularly by the elision of णि before the affix तृ with the augment इट् ॥

Thus यो नः पिता जनिता ॥ Otherwise जनयिता in secular literature. It is an exception to VI. 4. 51.

शमिता यज्ञे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शमिता, यज्ञे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्म्मणि शमितेति इडादौ णिलोपो निपात्यते ।

54. शमिता is formed irregularly by the elision of णि before an इट् augmented affix, when meaning a sacrificial act.

Thus शृतं हविः शमितः ॥ It is formed by तृच् and is in the Vocative case. Why do we say 'when referring to a sacrificial act'? See शृतं हविः शमयितः ॥ See Śatpatha Br. III. 8. 3, 4 and 5.

अयामन्ताल्वाय्येत्न्विष्णुषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अय, आम्-अन्त-आलु-आय्य-इत्नु-इष्णुषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम् अन्त आलु आय्य इत्नु इष्णु इत्येतेषु परतो णेरयादेशो भवति ।

55. अय् is substituted for the इ of णि, before the affixes आम्, अन्त, आलु, आय्य, इत्नु, and इष्णु ॥

Thus कारयां चकार, हारयां चकार, गण्डयन्तः, मण्डयन्तः (formed by the Uṇâdi affix झच्, झ = अन्त, added to the roots गंड and मंड) आलु । स्पृहयालुः । आय्य, स्पृहयाय्यः, गृहयाय्यः ॥ इत्नुः—स्तनयित्नुः ॥ इष्णुः—पोषयिष्णुः ॥ Thus sûtra could have been well dispensed with; for the इ of णि would take guṇa ए which will be changed to अय् by the rules of Sandhi, be fore these affixes. This substitution of अय् for इ is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra however, because there इ could not be changed to अय by any sandhi-rules.

ल्यपि लघुपूर्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्यपि, लघु पूर्वात (णेः अय ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि परतो लघुपूर्वादुत्तरस्य णेरयादेशो भवति ।

56. अय् is substituted for the इ of णि, before the Absolutive affix ल्यप्, when the vowel preceding the इ is light.

Thus प्रशमय्य गतः, संशमय्य गतः, प्रबेभिदय्य, प्रगणय्य ॥ But प्रपात्य गतः the vowel preceding the इ being long. Here VI. 4. 51 applies. The shortening, the

elision of य and the elision of अ should not be considered as asiddha, as their place of operation is not the same. Thus शम्+णिच्=शामि ; this आ is shortened by VI. 4. 92, and we have शमि ॥ This shortening is not to be considered as asiddha, for if asiddha, there being no laghu pûrva, the present rule would not apply. Similarly बेभिद्य is the Intensive root, its य is elided by VI. 4. 49, this elision is not considered as asiddha, if it were asiddha, the इ of भि would not be laghu. Similarly the elision of अ in गण which is a root which ends in अ, (see Dhâtupâṭha Churadi 309), is not considered as asiddha for similar reasons.

विभाषा, ऽऽपः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप उत्तरस्य णेर्ल्यपि परतो विभाषा ऽयादेशो भवति ॥

57. अय् is optionally substituted for the इ of णि before the affix ल्यप्, after the verb आप् ॥

Thus प्रापय्य or प्राप्य गतः ॥ This however does not apply to the आप् substitute for इङ्, as अध्याप्य गतः (VI. 1. 48, VII. 3. 36). The maxim of Pratipadokta applies here.

युप्लुवोर्दीर्घश्छन्दसि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यु-प्लुवोः, दीर्घः, छन्दसि, (ल्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यु प्लुइत्येतयोर्ल्यपि परतश्छन्दसि विषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

58. In यु and प्लु, long is substituted for उ, before ल्यप् in the Veda.

Thus दान्त्यनुपूर्वं वियूय ; यत्रा धो दक्षिणा परिप्लूय ॥ Why do we say 'in the Chhandas'? Observe संयुत्य, आप्लुत्य in the secular literature.

क्षियः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, (दीर्घः ल्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियश्च दीर्घो भवति ल्यपि परतः ॥

59. A long is substituted for the इ of क्षि before ल्यप् ॥

As प्रक्षीय, उपक्षीय ॥

निष्ठायामण्यदर्थे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठायाम्. अ-ण्यदर्थे, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यतः कृत्यस्यार्थौ भावकर्म्मणी ताभ्यामन्यत्र या निष्ठा तस्यां क्षियो दीर्घो भवति ।

60. A long is substituted for the इ of क्षि before the Participle in क्त, when it has not the sense of the future Passive Participle in ण्यत् ॥

The force of ण्यत् is to denote condition (Impersonal action) and object (passive). When the Past Participle has not the force of ण्यत्, the vowel of क्षि is lengthened. Thus आक्षीणः, प्रक्षीणः, परिक्षीणः all used in the active sense. The क्त is added to the Intransitive क्षि to denote the agent (III. 4. 72). Thus प्रक्षीणमिदं देवदत्तस्य 'this is the spot where Devadatta perished'. Here क्त is used with a Locative force (III. 4. 76). Why do we say 'not having the force of

ण्यत्?' Observe अक्षितमसिमभेक्षेष्ठाः ॥ Here न is added with the force of condition, and akshitam means 'imperishable'. The vowel not being lengthened the त is not changed to न (VIII. 2. 46).

वा ऽऽक्रोशदैन्ययोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आक्रोश-दैन्ययोः (क्षियः दीर्घः विभाषा)

वृत्ति ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने दैन्ये च क्षियो निष्ठायामण्यदर्थे वा दीर्घो भवति ॥

61. The long is optionally substituted, for the इ of क्षि, before the Past Participle क्त, not having the sense of the Future Passive Participle ण्यत्, when the word means 'imprecation' or 'a miserable plight'.

Thus क्षितायुरेधि or क्षीणायुरेधि, क्षितकः or क्षीणकः, क्षितोऽयं तपस्वी, क्षीणोऽयं तपस्वी ॥ When not having the sense of cursing or miserable condition, we have one form only, as क्षीणश्चन्द्रः ॥

स्यसिच्सीयुट्तासिषु भावकर्म्मणोरुपदेश ऽज्झनग्रहदृशां वा चिण्वदिट् च ॥६२॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-सिच्-सीयुट्-तासि, भाव-कर्मणोः, उपदेशे, अच्-हन्-ग्रह-दृशाम्, वा, चिण्वत्, इट्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्य सिच् सीयुट् तासि इत्येतेषु भावकर्म्मविषयेषु परत उपदेशे ऽजन्तानामङ्गानां हन् ग्रह दृश इत्येतेषां च चिण्वत्कार्यं भवति वा । यदा चिण्वत् तदा इडागमो भवति ।

62. Before the affixes स्य (First Future and Conditional), सिच् (S-Aorist), सीयुट् (Benedictive) and तासि (the Priphrastic Future), when there are used in the Impersonal (भाव) and Passive (कर्म) Voices, (1) the verbal stems ending in a vowel in the Grammatical system of instruction (उपदेश), as well as the verbs (2) हन् (3) ग्रह् and (4) दृश् are treated optionally in the same way as in the third person of the Passive Aorist in चिण्, and when so treated, they have the augment इट् ॥

The augment इट् is, of course, added to the affixes स्य, सिच्, सीयुट् and तासि and not to the stem. What are the special objects served by this atideśa aphorism? They are given in the following verse:—

Kârikâ चिण्वद् वृद्धिर्युक् च हन्तेश्च घत्वं
दीर्घश्चोक्तो यो मितां वा चिणीति ।
इट् चासिद्धस्तेन मे लुप्यते णि-
र्नित्यश्चायं वलनिमित्तोऽविघाती ॥

First:—The Vriddhi takes place as in चिण् (VII. 2. 116, VII. 3. 34), secondly, there is the addition of युक् augment (VII. 3. 33), thirdly घ is substituted for the ह of हन् (VII. 3. 54), fourthly, the roots having indicatory म

(Bhuâdi 809 to 873) optionally lengthen their vowel (VI. 4. 93), and lastly the addition of the augment इट् being considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect by VI. 4. 22, the rule VI. 4. 51 applies and the causative affix णि is elided : and this इट् is added irrespective of the conditions and limitations of VII. 2. 35 &c.

(1) Roots ending in a vowel in the Dhâtûpâṭha with the affix स्य as, चिः—चायिष्यत or चेष्यते, अचायिष्यत or अचेष्यत ॥ So also with दा, as, दायिष्यते or दास्यते, अदायिष्यत or अदास्यत ॥

In शमि there are three forms, the two शामिष्यते or शमिष्यते, अशामिष्यत and अशमिष्यत being given by the elision of the causative ending by VI. 4. 51, in spite of the इट् augment which is considered as asiddha : and शम् being a root of मित् class, the अ is lengthened optionally by VI. 4. 93. The forms शमयिष्यते and अशमयिष्यत are given when not treated as चिण्, the causative is retained, the penultimate being shortened by VI. 4. 92. With the affix सिच्—अचायिषाताम् or अचेषाताम्, अदायिषाताम्, or अदिषाताम् and अशामिषाताम् or अशमिषाताम् ॥ With the affix सीयुट्—चायिषीष्ट or चेषीष्ट, दायिषीष्ट or दासीष्ट and शामिषीष्ट or शमिषीष्ट ॥ With the affix तासि :—चायिता or चेता, दायिता or दाता, शामिता or शमिता ॥ The चिण् aorist model of these roots is अचायि, अदायि (VII. 3. 33), and अशमि (VII. 3. 34) or अशामि (VI. 4. 93).

(2) हन् :—Fut. घानिष्यते or हनिष्यते; Con. अघानिष्यत or अहनिष्यत, Aor. अघानिषाताम् or अवधिषाताम् and अहसाताम् (II. 4. 44); Ben घानिषीष्ट or वधिषीष्ट ; Per. Fut. घानिता or हन्ता ॥ The चिण् model is अघानि ॥

(3) ग्रहः—Fut. ग्राहिष्यते or ग्रहीष्यते Con. अग्राहिष्यत or अग्रहीष्यत; Aor. अग्राहिषाताम् or अग्रहीषाताम् (अग्रहिषाताम)? ; Ben. ग्राहिषीष्ट or (ग्रहिषीष्ट)? ग्रहीषीष्ट, Per. Fut. ग्राहिता or ग्रहिता ॥ The lengthening of ही takes place by VII. 2. 37. The चिण् model is अग्राहि ॥

(4) दृशः— Fut. दर्शिष्यते or द्रक्ष्यते, Con. अदर्शिष्यत or अद्रक्ष्यत ; Aor. अदर्शिषाताम् or अदृक्षाताम् ; Ben दर्शिषीष्ट or दृक्षीष्ट; Per. Fut. दर्शिता or द्रष्टा (दर्ष्टा)? ॥ The चिण् model is अदर्शि ॥

Why do we say before स्य &c ? Observe चेतव्यम्, दातव्यम् ॥ Why in the Impersonal and Passive? Observe चेष्यते and दास्यते ॥ Why in Upadeśa ? The rule applies to कारिष्यते also, though कार् (after guṇa change) ends in a consonant, but in its original ennuciation it ends with a vowel. The atideśa rule being enunciated with regard to stems (aṅga), prevents the substitutions of हन् and इङ् and इण् ॥ Thus हानिष्यते, घानिष्यते, एष्यते or आयिष्यते, अध्येष्यते or अध्यायिष्यते ॥ The substitutes वध or गा (II. 4. 42, 43, 45, 50) do not come according to the Kâśikâ, when these roots are treated as चिण् ॥

दीङो युडचि क्ङिति ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीङः, युट्, अचि, क्ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीङोयुडागमो भवति अजादौ क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

63. युट् is the augment after दीङ्, of an ârdhadhâtuka affix beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus उपदिदीये, उपदिदीयाते and उपदिदीयिरे ॥ The Personal ending is कित् by I. 2. 5. दीङः being in the Ablative case, the augment is applied to the affix. This augment, however, is not to be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) for the purposes of semi-vowel substitution under VI. 4. 82. If that substitution were allowed, the augment would become useless. Why before an affix having क् or ङ्? Observe उपदानम् ॥

आतो लोप इटि च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, लोपः, इटि, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडादावार्द्धधातुके क्ङिति चाकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य लोपो भवति ॥

64. The final आ of a root is elided before an ârdhadhâtuka affix with the augment इट् as well as when it begins with a vowel and has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus पपिथ and तस्थिथ ॥ Here the affix has the इट् augment. पपतुः, पपुः, तस्थतुः, तस्थुः ॥ Here the affixes are कित् by I. 2. 5 गोदः, कम्बलदः with the affix क (III. 2. 3). So also प्रदा (fem), प्रधा (fem) by अङ् III. 3. 106. Before Sârvadhâtuka affixes, we have यान्ति, वान्ति, व्यत्यरे and व्यत्यले ॥ The two latter are the Imperfect 1st Pers. Sing. Atm. of रा and ला with the affix इ (इट्). When it does not begin with a vowel, we have ग्लायते, दासीय ॥

ईद्यति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईकार आदेशो भवति आकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य यति परतः ॥

65. The final आ of a stem is changed into ई before the Kṛit-affix यत् ॥

Thus देयम्, धेयम्, हेयम्, and स्तेयम् ॥ The Guṇa takes place according to VII. 3. 84.

घुमास्थागापाजहातिसां हलि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ घु, मा, स्था, गा, पा, जहाति साम्, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुसंज्ञकानामङ्गानां मा स्था गा पा जहाति सा इत्येतेषां हलादौ क्ङिति प्रत्यये परत ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

66. For the final of the roots of the form of दा and धा (घु), as well as for that of the roots मा, स्था, गा, पा, हा (जहाति) and सा (सो), there is substituted ई before an ârdhadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant, which has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus दीयते, धीयते with यक्, देदीयते, देधीयते with यङ् ॥ So also मीयते मेमीयते स्थीयते, तेष्ठीयते, गीयते, जेगीयते, अध्यगीष्ट, अध्यगीषाताम्, अध्यगीषत, पीयते, पेपीयते, हीयते, जेहीयते, अवसीयते, अवसेसीयते ॥

The पा 'to protect' of Adadi (47) is not meant here. be come the

vikarana शप् is elided in roots of that class. Its form will be पायते. It is Bhvâdi पा 'to drink' that is taken here. So also ह्रा-जिह्रीते is not to be taken here. Its form is ह्रायते ॥

Why do we say 'before a consonant'? Observe ददतुः, ददुः ॥ Here had हल् not been used in the sûtra, the आ of दा would be replaced by ई by the present sûtra, even before a vowel-affix अतुः o उस्; for the lopa of आ taught in VI. 4. 64 is prevented by this *subsequent* sûtra teaching ई substitution. In fact, the employment of the word हल् in the aphorism is a jñâpaka that the rule of vipratishedha (I.4.2) applies in this section of asiddha (VI. 4. 22), and the lopa of आ is *superseded* by the present rule substituting ई instead.So also दाता and धाता before non-कित् and non ङित् affixes.

एर्लिङि ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, लिङि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुमास्थागापाजहातिसामङ्गानां लिङि परत एकारादेशो भवति ॥

67. ए is substituted for the आ of the above roots in the Benedictive mood Active.

Thus देयात्, मेयात्, धेयात्, स्थेयात्, गेयात्, पेयात् and अवसेयात् ॥ Before non-कित् and non-ङित् we have दासीष्ट and धासीष्ट ॥ By the word लिङ् is here meant the आशीर्लिङ् or the Precative mood; the Personal endings of which mood are ârdhadhâtuka by III. 4. 116. More-over by III. 4. 104 the Parasmaipada affixes only of the Benedictive are कित्, so the present rule does not apply to the Atmanepada affixes of the Precative.

वा ऽन्यस्य संयोगादेः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अन्यस्य-संयोग, आदेः, (लिङि) (आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्वादिभ्यो ऽन्यस्य संयोगादेराकारान्तस्य वा एकारादेशो भवति लिङि परतः ॥

68. For the final आ of any other root than those mentioned in VI. 4. 66, ए may optionally be substituted, in the Benedictive active, when the root begins with a conjunct consonant.

The स्था was the only root of VI. 4. 66, which could have been affected by this rule. It has been, however, specially exempted by the word अन्यस्य ॥ Thus ग्लेयात् or ग्लायात्, म्लेयात् or म्लायात्, but only स्थेयात् (VI. 4. 66), and यायात् (not commencing with a double consonant). The phrase क्ङिति is understood here and therefore the rule applies to Parasmaepada affixes (III. 4. 104). Thus ग्लासीष्ट in Atmanepada. The root considered as an anga, should consist of a double consonant, therefore in निर्वायात् (from निर् + वा), र्व is not to be considered as a root having a double consonant, for र is no part of the anga, but of the preposition.

न ल्यपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ल्यपि, घुमास्थागापाजहातिसाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि प्रत्यये परतो घुमास्थागापाजहातिसां यदुक्तं तन्न ॥

69. The ई substitution for आ under rule VI. 4. 66, does not apply when the absolutive affix ल्यप् follows घु मा, स्था, गा, पा, हा and सा ॥

Thus प्रदाय, प्रधाय, प्रमाय, प्रस्थाय, प्रगाय, प्रपाय, प्रहाय and अवसाय ॥ The affix ल्यप् as the substitute of क्त्वा, is a कित् affix by I. 1. 56.

मयतेरिदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ मयतेः, इत्, अन्यतरस्याम्, (ल्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मयतेरिकारादेशो वा भवति ॥

70. इ may optionally be substituted for the आ of मा, (मयति) before ल्यप् ॥

Thus अपमित्य or अपमाय ॥

लुङ्लङ्लृङ्क्ष्वडुदात्तः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्, लङ्, लृङ् क्षु, अट्, उदात्तः (अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुङ् लङ् लृङ् इत्येतेषु परतोऽङ्गस्याडागमो भवति, उदात्तश्च स भवति ॥

71. अट् acutely accented is the augment of the verbal stem in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus अकार्षीत्, अहार्षीत्, अकरोत्, अहरत् and अकरिष्यत्, अहरिष्यत् ॥

आडजादीनाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आट्, अच्-आदीनाम्, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आडागमो भवत्यजादीनां लुङ्लङ्लृङ्षु परत उदात्तश्च स भवति ॥

72. आट् acutely accented is the augment of a verbal stem beginning with a vowel, in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus ऐक्षिष्ट, ऐक्षत, ऐक्षिष्यत; औब्जीत्, औब्जत्, औब्जिष्यत् ॥ ऐहिष्ट, ऐहत and ऐहिष्य औम्भीत्, औम्भत्, and औम्भिष्यत् ॥ The Vriddhi takes place by VI. 1. 90.

The Passive Imperfect (लङ्) of यज्, वप् and वह are ऐज्यत, औप्यत and औह्यत formed by आट् and not अट् ॥ First, the affixes of the Imperfect are added and then the Passive characteristic यक् is added to these roots, which causes the vocalisation of the semi-vowels, and we have इज्यत, उप्यत, and उह्यत stems (VI. I. 15). The stems having now assumed a form in which they begin with a vowel, take आट् ॥ The addition of tense-affixes being an antaranga operation precedes the addition of augment. After the affixes have been added, the vikaraṇa यक, being nitya, is added and precedes in order the augment, the latter being so far anitya; after यक् addition the roots assume a form in which we can add आट् ॥ Why आट् is considered anitya depends on the following maxim :—शब्दान्तरस्य प्राप्नुवन् विधिरनित्यो भवति "when the word-form in reference to which a rule teaches something; after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously would be different from what it was before that other rule had taken effect, then the former rule is not nitya."

छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अपि, दृश्यते, आट् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये आडागमो दृश्यते । यत्र हि विहितस्ततोन्यत्रापि दृश्यते ।

73. The आट् augment is found in the Veda also.

It is found there before the roots beginning with a vowel as well as before consonant roots. Thus आवः, आनक्, and आयुनक् ॥ आवः is the Aorist of वृञ्, the affix being elided by II. 4. 80. आनक् from नश् (II. 4. 80), and आयुनक् is the Imperfect of युज् ॥

न माङ्योगे ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, माङ्, योगे (लुङ् लङ् लृङ्क्षु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ माङ्योगे लुङ्लङ्लृङ्क्षु यदुक्तं तन्न भवति ॥

74. In connection with the prohibitive particle मा, the augment अट् or आट् is not added in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus मा भवान् कार्षीत्, मा भवान् हार्षीत्, मा स्म करोत्, मा स्म हरत्, मा भवानीहिष्टमा, भवानीक्षिष्ट, मा स्म भवानीहत, मा स्म भवानीक्षत ॥

बहुलं छन्दस्यमाङ्योगे ऽपि ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, अ माङ योगे, अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माङ्योगे ऽपि बहुलमडाटौ भवतः अमाङ्योगेपि न भवतः ॥

75. There is diversity in the Veda: the augment अट् or आट् is added even with मा, and sometimes not added even when there is no मा ॥

Thus in जनिष्ठा उग्रः (Rig X. 73. 1), काममूनयीत् (Rig I. 53. 3) and काममर्दयीत्; the augment is not added though there is no मा ॥ In मा वः क्षेत्रे परबीजान्यवाप्सुः, मा अभित्थाः, मा आवः, the augment is not elided, though the particle मा is added.

इरयो रे ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इरयोः, रे, (बहुलंछन्दसि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इरे इत्येतस्य छन्दसि विषये बहुलं रे इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

76. रे is diversely substituted for इरे in the Veda.

Thus कं स्विद्गर्भं प्रथमं दध्रे आपः (Rig X. 82. 5) या स्य परिदध्रे ॥ In दध्रे, the आ of धा is elided before the affix इरे by VI. 4. 64, the रे substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) for the purposes of the elision of आ ॥ Sometimes the substitution does not take place, as परमाया धियोग्निर्माणि चक्रिरे ॥ Here इट् augment is first added to रे after the सेट् roots and the affix thus becomes इरे, then रे is substituted again for this इरे by this sûtra, thus the affix is brought back to its original condition. To show this repetition—रे—इरे—रे the sûtra has exhibited the word इरयोः in the dual number.

अचि श्नुधातुभ्रुवां य्वोरियङुवङौ ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचि, श्नु, धातु, भ्रुवाम्, य्वोः, इयङ्, उवङौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्नुप्रत्ययान्तस्याङ्गस्य धातोरिवर्णोवर्णान्तस्य भ्रु इत्येतस्य इयङुवङ् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतो ऽचि परतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इयङुवङ्प्रकरणेतन्वादीनां छन्दसि बहुलमुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

77. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the उ of नु, the characteristic of the roots of the fifth class, for the final इ, ई, उ and ऊ of a root, as well as for the ऊ of भ्रू, the इय् (for इ or ई) and उव् (for उ or ऊ).

Thus आप्नुवन्ति, राध्नुवन्ति, शक्नुवन्ति, from roots of the 5th class. चिक्षियतुः लुलुवतुः, लुलुवुः, नियौ, नियः, लुवौ, लुवः and भ्रुवौ and भ्रुवः ॥

Why do we say before an affix beginning with a vowel'? Observe आप्नुयात्, शक्नुयात्, राध्नुयात् ॥ Why "of श्नु &c."? Observe लक्ष्यै, लक्ष्याः, वध्वै, वध्वाः ॥ Why "of इ and उ"? Observe चक्रतुः, चक्रुः where the vowel is ऋ ॥

Vârt:—The Guṇa (VII. 3. 84) and Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 115) however take place to the supersession of इयङ् and उवङ्: as from चि—चयनम् and चायकः, लू—लवनम् and लावकः, with ल्युट् and ण्वुल् ॥

Vârt:—In the Chhandas there is deversely the substitution of इयङ् and उवङ् in the case of तन् &c. Thus तन्वं पुषेम or तनुवं पुषेम ॥ विषुवं पुषेम, स्वर्गो लोकः, सुवर्गो लोकः, त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे, त्रियम्बकं यजामहे ॥

अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे ॥७८॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासस्य, अ, सवर्णे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्येवर्णोवर्णान्तस्यासवर्णे ऽचि परत इयङ् उवङ् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

78. इयङ् and उवङ् are substituted for the इ and उ of a reduplicate, before a non-homogenous vowel.

Thus इयेष, उवोष, इयर्त्ति, (VII. 4. 77) but ईषतुः and ईषुः, ऊषतुः and ऊषुः before homogenous vowels and इयाय and उवाय before a non-vowel.

स्त्रियाः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाः, (अचि इयङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीइत्येतस्याजादौ प्रत्यये परतः इयङादेशो भवति ॥

79. इयङ् is substituted for the ई of स्त्री before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As स्त्री, स्त्रियौ, स्त्रियः; but स्त्रीणाम् the न् being added by a subsequent rule, supersedes this rule. The making this a separate sûtra is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms.

वा ऽम्शसोः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अम्, शसोः (इयङ् स्त्रियाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमि शसि परतः स्त्रिया वा इयङादेशो भवति ॥

80. The substitution of इयङ् for the ई of strî is optional before the accusative endings अम् and शस् (अस्) ॥

Thus स्त्रीं पश्य or स्त्रियं पश्य, स्त्रीः पश्य or स्त्रियः पश्यः ॥

इणो यण् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, यण्, (अङ्गस्य अचि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणोङ्गस्य यणादेशो भवति अचि परतः ॥

81. For the इ of the root इण् (एति) is substituted a semivowel (य), before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus यन्ति, यन्तु, आयन् ॥ This supersedes इयङ् substitution, and is itself superseded by VII. 2. 115, and VII. 3. 84 which ordain Vṛiddhi and Guṇa: on the maxim मध्ये ऽपवादाः पूर्वान् विधीन् बाधन्ते, नोत्तरान् ॥ "Apavâdas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavâda operations, supersede only those rules that precede, not those that follow them." So we have अयनम् and आयकः ॥

एरनेकाचो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अनेकाचः, अ संयोगपूर्वस्य, (धातोः अचि प्रत्यये) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरवयवः संयोगः पूर्वो यस्मादिवर्णान्न भवति असावसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तस्याङ्गस्यानेकाचोऽचि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

82. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final इ or ई of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

The word धातोः is understood here, and the word संयोग is qualified by that: i. e. the इ or ई which is not preceded by conjunct consonant forming part of the root is called an asamyoga pûrva इ ॥ Thus निन्यतुः, निन्युः, उन्न्यौ, उन्न्यः, ग्रामण्यौ, ग्रामण्यः ॥ All the above examples are of the soot नी preceded by the gati prepositions नि and उत्, or a Kâraka-upapada ग्राम ॥ The rule will not apply however if the preceding word is neither a gati nor a Kâraka, but an adjective, as परमनी, its dual and plural will be परमनियौ and परमनियः by इयङ् ॥ Why do we say 'of इ or ई'? Observe लुलुवतुः and लुलुवः from लुलू which ending in ऊ takes उवङ् substitution. This is also shown in the next sûtra. Why do we say the stem should be of more than one syllable? Observe नी; its dual and plural are नियौ and नियः by इयङ् ॥ Why do we say the इ or ई should not be preceded by a conjunct consonant? Observe यवक्री d. यवक्रियौ pl. यवक्रियः by इयङ् ॥ Why do we say "forming part of the root"? So that the rule may apply to उन्नी also. Here though ई is preceded by a conjunct न्न्, yet the latter is not part of the root, one न् being part of the upasarga उत् ॥ Thus we have उन्न्यौ and उन्न्यः ॥ The phrase असंयोगपुर्व should in fact be taken as qualifying the letter ई, and not as qualifying the word अङ्ग ॥

ओः सुपि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, सुपि, (यण्, धातोः, असंयोगपूर्वस्य, अनेकाचः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्ववयवः संयोगः पूर्वो यस्मादुवर्णान्न भवति तदन्तस्याङ्गस्या नेकाचो ऽजादौ सुपि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

83. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel व् is substituted for the final

ऊ of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem ends with a verbal root ending in ऊ not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root.

As no roots at the end of a stem end in short उ, the latter is not mentioned in the translation. Thus खलपू 'a sweeper':—d. खलप्वौ, pl. खलप्वः; so also शतस्वौ and शतस्वः, and सकृल्लू: dual सकृल्ल्वौ and सकृल्ल्वः ॥ But लुलुवतुः and लुलुवः before tense-affixes, (non—सुप्); लू—लुवौ, लुवः (because consisting of one syllable only), and कटप्रू—कटप्रुवौ, कटप्रुवः (because ऊ is preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root). The rule does not apply if the first member is not a Gati or a Kâraka word: as परमलू:—परमलुवौ and परमलुवः ॥

वर्षाभ्वश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षाभ्वः, च, अचि सुपि यण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाभू इत्येतस्याजादौ सुपि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुनर्भ्वश्चेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

84. व् is substituted for the ऊ of वर्षाभू also, when a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows.

As वर्षाभ्वौ, वर्षाभ्वः ॥ वर्षाभू 'what is born in the rains, a kind of herb.' This is an exception to the subsequent rule.

Vârt:—The semi-vowel substitution takes place when दृन्, कार and पुनर् precede भू; as दृन्भ्वौ, दृन्भ्वः, पुनर्भ्वौ, पुनर्भ्वः, कारभ्वौ (काराभ्वौ), कारभ्वः (काराभ्वः) ॥

न भूसुधियोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भू, सुधियोः, यण्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भू सुधी इत्येतयोर्यणादेशो न भवति ॥

85. The semi-vowel substitution does not take place in the case of stems ending in भू or the word सुधी, before affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus प्रतिभु—प्रतिभुवौ, प्रतिभुवः; सुधी—सुधियौ, सुधियः ॥ VI. 4. 77.

छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा, भूसुधियोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये भू सुधी इत्येतयोरुभयथा दृश्यते यण् ॥

86. In the Chhandas, in the case of a stem in भू and सुधी, are found sometimes the इयङ्, उवङ् and sometimes the semivowel substitution.

As विभ्वम्, विभुवम्, सुध्यः and सुधियः; वनेषु चित्रं विभ्वं विशे, विशे विभुवम्, सुध्यो हव्यमग्ने, सुधियो हव्यमग्ने ॥

हुश्नुवोः सार्वधातुके ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हुश्नु वोः, सार्वधातु के, अङ्गस्य, अनेकाचः, असंयोग, पूर्वस्य, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हु इत्येतस्याङ्गस्य श्नुप्रत्ययान्तस्यानेकाचो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्याजादौ सार्वधातुके परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

87. The semi-vowel व् is substituted for the उ of हु, and for that of नु (the characteristic of the fifth class roots),

before a sârvadhâtuka affix (III. 4. 113) beginning with a vowel, when the stem consists of more than one syllable and the उ is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

Thus हु—जुह्वति, जुह्वतु ; अजुह्वन्, so also with सु—as सुन्वन्ति, सुन्वन्तु, असुन्वन् ॥ Why do we say "of हु and श्नु formed stems"? Observe योयुवति, रोरुवति, from Intensive bases, by the elision of the यङ् affix. The यङ् is elided in the secular literature also, by the implication (jnâpaka) of this aphorism, for no counter-example can be formed of a root consisting of more than one syllable and ending in उ, not preceded by a conjunct consonant and followed by a Sârvadhâtuka affix, unless the Intensive roots with the elision of यङ् be taken. Nor can we get examples from the Chhandas, for the preceding rule applies only to ârdhadhâtuka affixes. Why do we say before a Sârvadhâtuka? Observe जुहुवतुः, जुहुवुः (VI. 4. 77). So also not in आप्नुवन्ति and राध्नुवन्ति as the उ is preceded by a conjunct consonant.

भुवो वुग्लुङ्लिटोः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, वुक्, लुङ्, लिटोः, अचि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भुवो वुगागमो भवति लुङि लिटि चाजादौ परतः ॥

88. भू gets the augment व् (वुक्) before the tense-affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect, when beginning with a vowel.

Thus अभूवन्, अभूवम् ; बभूव, बभूवतुः, बभूवुः ॥

ऊदुपधाया गोहः ॥८९॥ पदानि ॥ ऊत्, उपधायाः, गोहः, अङ्गस्य, अचि, प्रत्यये॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गोहो ऽङ्गस्य उपधाया ऊकारादेशो भवति अजादौ प्रत्यये परतः ॥

89. For the penultimate ओ of the guṇated stem गोह् (from गुह्), there is substituted ऊ before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus नि गूहति, निगूहकः, साधुनिगूहिन्, निगूहम्, निगूहन्ति, गूहो वर्तते ॥ Why do we say 'penultimate'? So that the substitution should not apply any where else. The form गोह् is taken in the sûtra to prohibit the application of the rule to cases where गुह् does not assume the form गोह् ॥ Therefore not here, निजुगुहतुः, निजुगुहुः ॥ This change will not take place before the affixes beginning with a consonant; as निगोढा, निगोढुम् ॥ Some say, the word is exhibited as गोह in order to prohibit the अय् substitution of णि before ल्यप् ॥ As निगोहि + ल्यप् = निगृह्य (VI. 4. 56 not applied), the ऊ substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) would have brought in अय्, गूह् being considered as a word having a light vowel for its penultimate. According to Kâśikâ the ऊ substitution, however, is not asiddha, as their places of operation are different.

दोषो णौ ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ दोषः, णौ, उदुपधायाः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दोष उपधाया ऊकार आदेशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

90. The ओ of दोष् is replaced by ऊ before the causative णि ॥

Thus दूषयति, दूषयतः, दूषयन्ति ॥ Similar reasons as in गोह, may be given for the root दुष being exhibited as दोष in the sûtra. When not followed by णि, we have दोषो वर्त्तते ॥

वा चित्तविरागे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, चित्त-विरागे, उदुपधायाः णौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्तविकारार्थे दोष उपधाया वा ऊकारादेशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

91. The ऊ substitution for the ओ of दोष् is optional, when the sense is that of the disturbing of the mind.

As चित्तं or प्रज्ञां दूषयति or दोषयति ॥ Otherwise साधनं दूषयति when mental agitation is not meant.

मितां ह्रस्वः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिताम्, ह्रस्वः, णौ, उपधायाः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मितो धातवो घटादयो मित इत्येवमादयो ये प्रतिपादितास्तेषामुपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति णौ परतः ॥

92. The roots having an indicatory म्, retain their penultimate short vowel before the causative णि ॥

The मित् roots are घटादि a subdivision of Bhwâdi (800 to 873), and all other roots that end in अम् as शम् and तम् of Divâdi class. Thus घटयति, व्यथयति, जनयति, रजयति, शमयति, ज्ञपयति ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' from the last sûra into this. This will then be a limited option only (vyavasthita-vibhâshâ). The forms उत्क्रामयति and संक्रामयति are thus explained.

93. Optionally a long may be substituted for the penultimate of the causative of मित् roots, before the third person of the Passive Aorist in चिण् (इ), and before the Absolutive affix णमुल् (अम्) ॥

चिण्णमुलोर्दीर्घो ऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, णमुलोः, दीर्घः, अन्यतरस्याम्, णौ, मितः उपधायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिण्परे णमुल्परे च णौ परतो मितामङ्गानामुपधाया दीर्घो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

Thus अशमि or अशामि, अतमि or अतामि with चिण्; and शमंशमम्, and शामंशामं; तमंतमम् or तामंतामम् with णमुल् ॥ Why have we used the word दीर्घ in the sûtra? The rule does not teach merely the *optional shortening*. So that in the alternative of short, we have अशमि and in the other alternative we have अशामि, so that there is long. For had दीर्घ not been used, it would have taught optional short only, i. e. it would be a ह्रस्वविकल्पविधि only, and there will be this difficulty :—when the causative of causative is taken, as in शमयन्तं प्रयुङ्क्ते, there would not be lengthening in the alternative. Because the lopa substitute of णि would be sthânivat : therefore, the णि which would be followed by

च्चिण or णमुल्, would not have in it the मित् anga, because the first णि intervenes between the मित् anga and the च्चिण् and णमुल् affix, and that णि which is preceded by a मित् anga is not followed by च्चिण् and णमुल्, because the second णि (though elided) intervenes. Therefore, there would not be *optional* short here, but *compulsory* short, by the preceding sûtra and no lengthening. The rule, therefore, teaches the optional substitution of the *long* (दीर्घ). For there arises no such anomaly in this view. For taking this rule to be a दीर्घविधि, the lopa-substitution of णि would *not* be sthânivat, by the express prohibition contained in I. 1. 58, and so we can get forms of double causatives. But if we take it a ह्रस्वविकल्पविधि, then the lopa-adeśa of णि being sthânivat, would prevent getting the alternative long form. Therefore the word दीर्घ is used in the sûtra to make this rule a दीर्घविधि, and prevent sthânivat-bhâva. Thus take the causative of शम्, which will be शामि by the last sûtra. Take its Intensive with यङ्, शामि + यङ् which causes doubling by VI. 1. 9 = शामि शामि + यङ् = शाशामि + यङ् (VII. 4. 60) = शं शामि + यङ् (नुक् or nasal being added to the abhyâsa by VII. 4. 85) = शंशामि + यङ् = शंशाम + य (VI. 4. 51) = शंशम्य. Add णिच् to this ie. make the causative of the Intensive. शंशम् + य + इ ॥ Then the अ of य is elided by VI. 4. 48 = शंशम् + य् + इ. Then य् is elided by VI. 4. 49 = शंशम + इ = शंशामि ॥ This शंशामि is the causative root of the Intensive of the causative शम् ॥ Now add च्चिण् or णमुल् to this root; and we get two forms short and long अशंशमि or अशंशामि with च्चिण् and शंशमम् or शंशामम् with णमुल् ॥ The long forms could not have been obtained had this not been a दीर्घविधि, for then the lopa-adesâ of णिच् being sthânivat would have prevented the application of दीर्घ ॥ The roots शम् and तम् (both Divâdi) ending in म् do not ever lengthen the root vowel before च्चिण् and णमुल् by VII. 3. 34. The present sûtra, therefore, does not apply to the simple roots. The derivative causative roots of these, namely, शमि — शमयति, तमि — तमयति, optionally lengthen the penultimate before these affixes. Thus शमि + च्चिण् = शम् + च्चिण् (the इ of णि being elided by VI. 4. 51) = शामि or शमि (with the augment अ = अशामि or अशमि) ॥ This rule applies when the Causative of the Causative root takes these affixes. In fact the mention of the word दीर्घ implies as much, otherwise the sûtra could have been made without this word, for the word 'optionally' would have brought in both 'short' and 'long'. Thus in शमयन्तं प्रयुङ्क्ते 'he causes another to make quiet,' we add णि (the Causative sign.), to the Causative root शमि, as शमि + णि = शम् + इ (VI. 4. 51) = शामि, the lopâdeśa here is not sthânivat for the purposes of *lengthening* (दीर्घविधि) the अ of शम् (I. 1. 58) ॥ From this शामि with च्चिण् we get अशामि, and with णमुल् we get शामम् ॥ But we cannot get the short forms, by taking the other alternative, as the lopâdeśa will then be sthânivat. Hence the necessity of the word दीर्घ in the sûtra. Thus the च्चिण् and णमुल् forms of the Causative of the Causative (i. e. the double Causative) of शम् are अशमि or अशामि ; शमंशमम् or शामंशामम् and from the form शंशमयति, we have अशंशमि or अशंशामि, शंशमंशंशमम् or शंशामंशं-

शामम् ॥ These latter are from the Causative stems of the Intensive root. The sign यङ् of the Intensive has been elided (VI. 4. 49) as shown above.

खचि ह्रस्वः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ खचि, ह्रस्वः, (उपधायाः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खच्परे णौ परतो ह्रस्वो भवत्यङ्गस्योपधायाः ॥

94. The penultimate of the Causative stem is shortened before the affix खच् ॥

Thus द्विषन्तपः, परंतपः, पुरंदरः ॥ See III. 2. 29 and 41.

ह्लादो निष्ठायाम् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्लादः, निष्ठायाम्, (ह्रस्वः उपधायाः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्लादो ऽङ्गस्योपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति निष्ठायां परतः ॥

95. The penultimate of the Causative of ह्लद् (ह्लादि) is shortened before the Participle affixes क्त and क्तवतु ॥

Thus प्रह्लन्नः, प्रह्लन्नवान्, but प्रह्लादयति before non-nishṭhâ. The rule applies also when क्तिन् follows as प्रह्लत्तिः ॥ This is done by splitting up the aphorism into two (1) ह्लादः (2) निष्ठायाम् ॥

छादेर्घे ऽद्व्युपसर्गस्य ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छआदेः, घे, अ द्व्युपसर्गस्य, (उपधायाः ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छादेरङ्गस्याद्व्युपसर्गस्य घप्रत्यये परत उपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अद्विप्रभृत्युपसर्गस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

96. The penultimate of the Churâdi छद् is shortened before the affix घ (III. 3. 118), when not preceded by two prepositions (or more).

As उरश्छदः, प्रच्छदः, दन्तच्छदः ॥ But समुपच्छादः with two prepositions. The same when preceded by more than two prepositions, as समुपातिच्छादः ॥ The elision of णि of छादि &c., by VI. 4. 51, should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) or sthânivat (I. 1. 57), otherwise there would be no *penultimate* to be shortened.

Vârt:—The prohibition with regard to द्वि should be extended to numbers more than two.

इस्मन्त्रन्क्विषु च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्, मन्, त्रन्, क्विषु, च, छादेः (उपधायाः ह्रस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः॥ इस् मन् त्रन् क्वि इत्येतेषु परतश्छादेरुपधाया ह्रस्वो भवति ।

97. The penultimate of छादि is shortened before the affixes इस्, मन्, त्रन् and क्वि ॥

Thus छदिस्, छद्मन् (neuter), छत्रम्, धामच्छत्, and उपच्छत् ॥ The first three are Uṇâdi affixes.

गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः क्ङित्यनङि ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गम, हन, जन, खन, घसाम्, लोपः, क्ङिति अनङि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम हन जन खन घस इत्येतेषामङ्गानामुपधाया लोपो भवत्यजादौ प्रत्यये क्ङित्यनङि परतः ॥

98. The root-vowel of गम्, हन्, जन्, खन्, and घस् is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicatory क् or ङ्; but not before the Aorist affix अङ् ॥

Thus जग्मतुः, जग्मुः जघ्नतुः, जघ्नुः, जज्ञे, जज्ञाते, जज्ञिरे, चख्नतुः, चख्नुः, जक्षतुः, जक्षुः, अक्षन्नमीमदन्तपितरः, ॥ क्ङितीतिकिम्, गमनम्, हननम्, ॥ अनङीतिकिम्, अगमत्, अघसत्, ॥ अचीत्येव, गम्यते, हन्यते ॥

Why 'having indicatory क् or ङ्'? See गमनम्, हननम् ॥ Why 'not अङ्'? See अगमत्, अघसत् ॥ Why 'beginning with a vowel'? See गम्यते and हन्यते ॥

तनिपत्योश्छन्दसि ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनि, पत्योः, छन्दसि, (क्ङिति उपधायाः लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनि पति इत्येतयोश्छन्दसि विषये उपधाया लोपो भवति अजादौ क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

99. In the Chhandas, the root-vowel of तन् and पत् is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

As वितत्निरे कवयः, शकुना इव पप्तिमः ॥ In secular language वितेनिरे, पेतिम ॥

घसिभसोर्हलि च ॥१००॥ पदानि ॥ घसि, भसोः, हलि, च, (अचि क्ङिति)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घसि भस इत्येतयोश्छन्दसि उपधाया लोपो भवति हलादावजादौ च क्ङिति प्रत्यये परतः ।

100. The root-vowel of घस् and भस् is elided in the Chhandas, before any affix, whether beginning with a vowel or a consonant, which has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus सग्धिश्च मे सपीतिश्च मे, बब्धां ते हरी धानाः ॥ सग्धिः is thus derived: क्तिन् is added to the root अद्; then by II. 4. 39, घस् is substituted for अद्; thus घस् + ति = घस + ति (अ being elided by the present sûtra) = घ् + ति (स् being elided by VIII. 2. 26), then त is changed to ध, and घ to ग and we have ग्धिः ॥ Then समाना ग्धिः = सग्धिः (समान changed to स VI. 3. 84). The word बब्धाम् is the Imperative of भस्, thus भस् + श्लु + ताम् = भ भस् + ताम् = ब भस् + ताम् (VI. 4. 100) = बभ् + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = ब ब् + धाम् = बब्धाम् ॥ This rule of elision being a nitya and a subsequent rule ought to have operated first, but, as a Vedic anomaly, the reduplication takes place first. See VII. 2. 67

Why do we read "before an affix beginning *also* with a consonant"? Because the elision takes place before a vowel affix also, as बप्सति = भस् + श्लु + झि = ब भ्स् + अति (VII. 1. 4) = बप्सति (VIII. 4. 55).

Why having an indicatory क or ङ? Observe अंभ्रन् बभस्ति ॥ The च has been added into the aphorism by the Vârtikakâra.

हुझल्भ्यो हेर्धिः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हु-झल्भ्योः, हेः, धिः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हु इत्येतस्मात् झलन्तेभ्यश्चोत्तरस्य हलादेर्हेः स्थाने धिरादेशो भवति ।

101. After हु and after a consonant (with the exception of semi-vowels and nasals), धि is substituted for the

Imperative affix हि, when the latter does not take the augment इट् ॥

Thus हु—जुहुधि; झल् consonants; भिद्—भिन्धि, छिद्—छिन्धि ॥ But क्रीणीहि, प्रीणीहि (VI. 4. 113) not ending in consonants. Why 'हि only'? Observe जुहुताम् ॥ Why do we read the anuvritti of झलि into this sûtra? When हि does not begin with a consonant, but with a vowel, i. e. when it takes the augment इट्, the rule does not apply. As रुदिहि, स्वपिहि ॥ In the case of जुहुतात्, भिन्तात्, when हि is replaced by तात् (VII. 1. 35) this substitution does not take place because तात् is a later rule in the order of Ashṭâdhyâyî, and because सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेव "When two rules, while they apply simultaneously mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether". When अकच् is added by V. 3. 71, धि substitution takes place, as भिन्धकि, छिन्धकि ॥ The maxim पुनः प्रसङ्ग विज्ञानात् सिद्धम् applies here :—"Occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had been previously superseded by a subsequent rule."

श्रुशृणुपॄकृवृभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रु-शृणु-पॄ-कृ-वृ-भ्यः, छन्दसि, हेर्धिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रु शृणु पॄ कृ वृ इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्य हेर्धिरादेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये ।

102. धि is substituted for हि in the Vedas, after श्रु, शृणु, पॄ, कृ and वृ ॥

As श्रुधी हवमिन्द्र, शृणुधी, गिरः, पूर्धि, उरुणस्कृधि and अपावृधि, ॥

In शृणुधी, the हि is not elided after the उ of णु, as it was required by VI. 4. 106, since the present aphorism specifically mentions it. The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. The forms other than शृणुधि are irregular; शप् being added *diversely* by III. 1. 85, and then elided diversely by बहुलं छन्दसि II. 4.73

अङितश्च ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्-इतः, च, हेर्धिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अङितश्च हेर्धिरादेशो भवति ॥

103. धि is substituted for हि, when the tense-affix is not ङित् ॥

Under III. 4. 88 हि is also पित् in the Vedas: and when it is पित्, it is not ङित् by I. 2. 4. Thus रारन्धि, यन्धि and युयोधि in the following सोमरारन्धि अस्मभ्यं तद्धर्यश्व प्रयन्धि, युयोध्यस्मज्जुहुराणमेनः

Why do we say 'when it is not ङित्'? Observe प्रीणीहि ॥ रारन्धि is irregularly Parasmaipada of रम्; the शप् being replaced by श्लु, and the reduplicate lengthened as a Vedic form. The म् is not elided, by VI. 4. 37 as the affix is not ङित् ॥ प्रयन्धि is from यम, the शप् is elided: and युयोधि from यु (यौति), the शप् being replaced by श्लु ॥

चिणो लुक् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिणः, लुक्, प्रत्ययस्य ॥

वृत्ति ॥ चिण उत्तरस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुग्भवति ॥

104. The personal-endings are elided after चिण्, the third person, singular Passive of the Aorist.

As अहारि, अलावि, अकारि, अपाचि ॥ So also अकारितराम्, अहारितमाम्, here the elision of the personal affix त (III. 1. 60) of the Aorist being considered as *asiddha*, the affixes तरप् and तमप् are not elided: though if the sûtra were to be literally interpreted, *every affix* after चिण्, ought to be elided. Or the word क्ङिति is understood here; so that कित् and ङित् affixes of चिण् are elided and not every affix.

अतो हेः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, हेः, अङ्गस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तादङ्गादुत्तरस्य हेर्लुग्भवति ॥

105. The Imperative affix हि is elided after a stem ending in short अ ॥

Thus पच, पठ, गच्छ, धाव ॥ But युहि, रुहि after stems ending in उ. Why do we say "*short* अ"? Observe लुनीहि, पुनीहि (लुना + हि, the ई substitution by VI. 4. 113, should be considered *asiddha*), here हि is not elided after the long आ ॥

उतश्च प्रत्ययादसंयोगपूर्वात् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उतः, च, प्रत्ययात्, असंयोग पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारो यो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तात्प्रत्ययादुत्तरस्य हेर्लुग्भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ उतश्च प्रत्ययादित्यत्र छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यं ॥

106 The Imperative हि is elided after the उ of an affix, in the vikaraṇa with which the Present-stem (special conjugation) is made, provided that the उ is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

The affix उ with which the Present-stem is made is उ and श्नु ॥ Thus चिनु, सुनु, कुरु ॥ Why after 'उ'? Observe लुनीहि, पुनीहि ॥ Why do we say "उ being part of the vikaraṇa or affix"? Observe रुहि, युहि, here उ is part of the *root* itself, and not of the vikaraṇa. Why de we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant,? Observe प्राप्नुहि, राध्नुहि, तक्ष्णुहि ॥

Vârt:—The elision of हि after the उ of the vikaraṇa उ and श्नु is optional in the Vedas; as आतनुहि यातुधानान्, धिनुहि यज्ञपतिम्, तेन मा भागिनं कृणुहि ॥

लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां म्वोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, म्वोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योयमुकारो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तस्य प्रत्ययस्यान्यतरस्यां लोपो भवति ॥

107. The उ of the vikaraṇa उ and श्नु, where not preceded by a conjunct consonant, may be elided optionally before a personal ending beginning with म or व् ॥

Thus सुन्वः or सुनुवः, सुन्मः, सुनुमः, तन्वः, तनुवः, तन्मः, तनुमः ॥ The उ must be-

long to the affix, and should not be part of the root. Therefore not in युवः, युमः ॥

Why do we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant'? Observe शक्नुवः, शक्नुमः only. Though the elision word लुक् was understood in this sûtra, the mention of लोप् indicates that the *final* is only to be elided, and not the whole affix नु ॥ It is a general maxim that the words लुक्, श्लु and लुप् cause the elision of the *whole* affix, while 'lopa' will cause elision of the final letter only of the affix. If the whole affix be elided, we could not get सुन्वः &c., Moreover, in कुर्वः and कुर्मः formed by guṇa of कृ, there would have been no guṇa, had the word लुक् been used, for I. 1. 63, would have prevented guṇa; but by using the word लोप we have such guṇa also by I. 1. 62.

नित्यं करोतेः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, करोतेः, ॥

वृत्ति ॥ करोतेरुत्तरस्य उकारप्रत्ययस्य वकारमकारादौ प्रत्यये परतो नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

108. The elision of उ is invariable before व् and म् in the case of कृ (करोति).

Thus कुर्वः and कुर्मः ॥ Thus कृ+उ+वः=कुर्+उ+वः (VI. 4. 110)=कुर्+०+वः (VI. 4. 108). Now the lopa being not sthânivat, when a vowel is to be lengthened (I. 1. 58), उ of कु should be lengthened by VIII. 2. 77. This contingency is prevented by VIII. 2. 79.

ये च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, लोपः नित्यंकरोतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ च प्रत्यये परतः करोतेरुत्तरस्योकारप्रत्ययस्य नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

109. The affix उ of the stem कुरु is always elided before a personal ending beginning with a य ॥

Thus कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम् and कुर्युः ॥ The augment यासुट् is treated here as an affix, and it makes the personal ending to which it is added, as an affix beginning with य ॥

अत उत्सार्वधातुके ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, उत्, सार्वधातु के, क्ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारप्रत्ययान्तस्य करोतेरकारस्य स्थाने उकार आदेशो भवति सार्वधातुके क्ङिति परतः ।

110. Before a Sârvadhâtuka affix with an indicatory क् or ङ्, short उ is substituted for the अ of कृ (कर्+उ) when gunated.

Thus कृ+उ+तस्=कर्+उ+तस्(VII. 3. 84)=कुर्+उ+तस्=कुरुतः (VI. 4. 110) The तस् is ङित् by I. 2. 4. So also कुर्वन्ति, कुरु ॥ Why do we say 'before a Sârvadhatukâ'? So that the rule may apply to what was once a Sârvadhâtuka, though no longer existent. Thus कुरु where the personal ending हि is elided, but it leaves its effect behind. The त् in उत् shows that this उ is not to be gunated by VII. 3. 86. When the affix is not कित् or ङित् we have करोति, करोषि and करोमि (I. 2. 4).

श्नसोरल्लोपः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्न-असोः, अत्-लोपः, सार्वधातुके क्ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः । श्नस्यास्तेश्चाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके क्ङिति परतः ।

111. Before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or ङित् affix, the अ of श्न and अस् is elided.

श्न is the characteristic of the roots of the Rudhâdi class, while अस् is the root itself. Thus रुन्धः; रुन्धन्ति, भिन्तः, भिन्दन्ति ; So also of अस्:—स्तः, सन्ति ॥ But भिनत्ति and अस्ति before non—कित् and non — ङित् affixes. श्न + अस् ought to be श्नास्, instead of that we have श्नस् in the sûtra. The पररूप single substitution is an irregularity.

श्नाभ्यस्तयोरातः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्ना-अभ्यस्तयोः, आतः, लोपः सार्वधातुके क्ङिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्ना इत्येतस्याभ्यस्तानां चाङ्गानामाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके क्ङिति परतः ।

112. Before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or ङित् affix beginning with a vowel, the long आ of श्ना (the vikaraṇa of the 9th class) and of the reduplicate stems is elided.

Thus लुनते, लुनताम्, अलुनत ; मिमते, मिमताम्, अमिमत, संजिहते, संजिहताम् and समजिहत ॥ Why do we say 'of श्ना and the reduplicates'? Observe यान्ति, वान्ति ॥ Why 'of long आ'? Observe बिभ्रति ॥ Why 'before कित् and ङित्'? Observe अलुनात्, अजहात् ॥

ई हल्यघोः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, हलि, अ-घोः (श्नाभ्यस्तयोरातः सार्वधातुके क्ङिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्नान्तानामङ्गानामभ्यस्तानां च घुवर्जितानामात ईकारादेशो भवति हलादौ सार्वधातुके क्ङिति परतः ॥

113. Before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or ङित् affix beginning with a consonant, the आ of श्ना and of the reduplicate stems is replaced by ई, except when the root is दा or धा (घु) ॥

Thus लुनीतः, पुनीतः, लुनीथः, पुनीथः, लुनीते and पुनीते ॥ Of reduplicates we have मिमीते, मिमीषे, मिमीध्वे, संजिहीते, संजिहीषे, संजिहीध्वे ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe लुनन्ति, मिमते ॥ Why with the exception of घु? Observe दत्तः, धत्तः ॥ So also लुनाति and जहाति before non-कित् and non-ङित् affixes.

इद्दरिद्रस्य ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, दरिद्रस्य, (हलिसार्वधातुकेक्ङिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दरिद्रातेर्हलादौ सार्वधातुके क्ङिति परत इकारादेशो भवति ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दरिद्रातेरार्धधातुके लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ सिद्धश्च प्रत्ययविधौ भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

Kârikâ ॥ न दरिद्रायके लोपो दरिद्राणे च नेष्यते ।

दिदरिद्रासतीत्येके दिदरिद्रिषतीति वा ॥

वा० ॥ अद्यतन्यां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

114. इ is substituted for the आ of दरिद्रा before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or ङित् affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus दरिद्रितः, दरिद्रिथः, दरिद्रिवः, दरिद्रिमः ॥ But दरिद्रति before a vowel affix (VI. 4. 112) and दरिद्राति before a non-ङित् affix.

Vârt :—The final of दरिद्रा is elided before an Ârdhadhâtuka affix. *Vârt* :—And this elision should be considered as siddha, in applying rules relating to affixes. Thus दरिद्रा by loosing आ becomes दरिद्र, and we should apply those affixes which would come after a form like 'daridr', and not what would have come after a form like 'daridrâ'. Thus ण comes after roots ending in long आ (III. 1. 141): but this affix would not be applied here, but the general affix अच् (III. 1. 134). Thus दरिद्राति = दरिद्रः ॥

Kârikâ :—The elision does not take place in the forms दरिद्रायक and दरिद्राण, and the Desiderative may be either दिदरिद्रासति or दिदरिद्रिषति ॥ Siddhânta Kaumudi gives the following rule: "आ of दरिद्रा should be considered as elided when applying an ârdhadhâtuka affix, but optionally so before लुङ् (Aorist), and not at all before सन् (Desiderative), ण्वुल् and ल्युट्" ॥

Vârt :—Optionally so in the Aorist (adyatana-past) as, अदरिद्रीत् or अदरिद्रासीत् ॥ The latter form is evolved by VII. 2. 73 and elision of सिच् ॥ The form दरिद्रस्य in the sûtra is Vedic, the root being shortened from दरिद्रा to दरिद्र ॥

भियोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (इतहलि क्ङिति सार्वधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी इत्येतस्याङ्गस्यान्यतरस्यामिकारादेशो भवति हलादौ क्ङिति सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

115. इ is optionally substituted for the ई of भी before a Sârvadhâtuka affix beginning with a consonant and having an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus बिभितः or बिभीतः, बिभिथः or बिभीथः, बिभिवः or बिभीवः; बिभिमः or बिभीमः॥ But बिभ्यति before a vowel-beginning affix and बिभेति before a non-ङित् affix and भीयते before an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

जहातेश्च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जहातेः, च, (इ हलि अन्यतरस्याम् क्ङितिसार्वधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेश्च इकारादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां हलादौ क्ङिति सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

116. इ is optionally substituted for the आ of हा (जहाति) before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or ङित् affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus जहितः or जहीतः (VI. 4. 113) जहिथः or जहीथः (VI. 4. 113). But जहति before a vowel affix, and जहात before a non-ङित् affix, and हीयते and जिहीयते before an ârdhadhâtuka. The separation of this sûtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms.

आ च हौ ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, च, हौ, (इ अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेराकारश्चान्तादेशो भवति इकारश्चान्यतरस्यां हौ परतः ।

117. आ as well as इ may optionally be substituted for the final of the stem of हा before the Imperative ending हि ॥

Thus जहाहि, जहिहि or जहीहि (VI. 4. 113).

लोपो यि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, यि, (जहातेः सार्वधातुके क्ङिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोपो भवति जहातेर्यकारादौ क्ङिति सार्वधातुके परतः ।

118. The final of the stem of हा is elided before an affix beginning with य being a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or ङित् affix.

Thus जह्यात्, जह्याताम् and जह्युः ॥

घ्वसोरेद्धावभ्यासलोपश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ घु-असोः, एत्, हौ, अभ्यास-लोपः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुसंज्ञकानामङ्गानामस्तेश्च एकारादेशो भवति हौ परतो ऽभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

119. For the final vowel of the roots दा and धा (घु), and for the स् of अस्, is substituted ए before the Imperative ending हि; and thereby the reduplicated syllable of दा and धा is elided.

Thus देहि, and धेहि, of घु, and एधि of अस्, the स being elided by this sûtra, and अ being elided by VI. 4. 111. This लोप of the present sûtra should be considered as having an indicatory श so that the *whole* of the reduplicated and not only the final letter of the abhyâsa (I. 1. 55) is elided.

अत एकहल्मध्ये ऽनादेशादेर्लिटि ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, एक-हल्, मध्ये, अनादेशादेः, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्ङितीतिवर्तते ॥ लिटि परत आदेश आदिर्यस्याङ्गस्य नास्ति, तस्य एकहल्मध्ये, असहाययोर्हलोर्मध्ये यो ऽकारस्तस्य एकारादेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि क्ङिति परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दम्भेरेत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ नशिमन्योरलिट्येत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ छन्दस्यामिपचोरप्यलिटि एत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ यजिवप्योश्च ॥

120. ए is substituted for the short अ standing between two simple consonants of a verbal stem, before the personal endings of the Perfect which have an indicatory क् (I. 2. 5), provided that, at the beginning of the root, in the reduplication, no other consonant has been substituted; and when this ए is substituted, the reduplicate is elided.

Thus रेणतुः, रेणुः, येमतुः, येमुः, पेचतुः, पेचुः, देभतुः, देभुः ॥ Why 'for अ'? Observe दिदिवतुः, दिदिवुः the इ is not replaced. Why do we say '*short* अ'? Observe ररासे, ररासाते, ररासिरे ॥ Why do we say 'standing between two *simple* consonants'? Observe ररक्षतुः, ररक्षुः ॥ Some say this example is not appropriate, for by I. 2. 5, the Perfect affixes are not कित् here, as they come after a conjunct consonant. The following is then more appropriate:—तत्सरतुः and तत्सरुः ॥ Why do we say 'which has no substituted consonant in the reduplicate'? Observe चकणतुः, चकणुः, जगणतुः, जगणुः, बभणतुः, बभणुः ॥

The substitution referred to here must be caused by the affixes of the Perfect, therefore, the rule will apply to नेमतुः, नेमुः, सेहे and सेहाते, सेहिरे though णम् and षह् are the roots, and ण् and ष् are changed to न and स ॥ The substitution of जश् consonant or a चर् consonant in the reduplicate, should not be here considered asiddha (VIII. 4. 54, read with VIII. 2. 1). That substitution will be considered a substitution for the purposes of this sûtra and will make the stem आदेशादिः, as is indicated by the special exception made in favor of फल् and भज् (VI. 4. 122). If the form of the letter is not changed in the reduplicate, by substitution, then such substitution will not make the stem आदेशादिः ॥ Thus by VIII. 4. 54, a चर् letter (च, ट, त, क, प, श, ष, स) is substituted for a consonant (other than a nasal and a semi-vowel) in the reduplicate.

Thus in पच् the reduplicate is पपच्, the first प is also a *substitute*, for the चर् substitute of प will be प ॥ Such substitutes, however, are not meant here.

This we learn from the implication (jñâpaka) of sûtra VI. 4. 126 where exception is made in case of शस् and दद् ॥ Therefore, where the substitute is a *different* letter, then the reduplicate becomes âdeśâdî : otherwise not.

When the affixes are not कित् or ङित् the rule does not apply: as अहं पपच, अहं पपठ ॥

Vârt:—ए is substituted for the अ of दम्भ under similar circumstances:—thus देभतुः, देभुः ॥ The elision of the nasal by VI. 4. 24, would be considered asiddha by VI. 4. 22, hence this vârtika.

Vârt:—ए is substituted for the अ of नश and मन before affixes other than those of लिट् ॥ As अनेशम्, मेनका ॥ अनेशम् is the Aorist in अङ् of नश् which belongs to Pushâdi roots (III. 1. 55). मेनका is formed by वुन् (III. 1. 150). Padamanjari gives अनेशन् (3 rd Pl.), and quotes अनेशन्नस्येषवः ॥

Vârt:—In the Vedas, ए is substituted for the अ of अम and पच् before affixes other than those of the Perfect, as व्येमानम्, (वि + अम् + चानश्, the augment मुक् being dropped); पेचिरन् instead of पचेरन्, the Imperfect of पच् ॥ The shortening is also a Vedic irregularity.

Vârt:—So also of यज् and वप ,as आयेजे and आवेपे the Imperfect Vedic forms. The augment आट् being added by VI. 4. 73.

थलि च सेटि ॥१२१॥ पदानि ॥ थलि, च, सेटि, (अत एक हल् मध्ये अनादेशादेः)

वृत्तिः ॥ थलि च सेटि परतो ऽनादेशादेरङ्गस्य एकहल्मध्यगतस्यातः स्थाने एकार आदेशो भवति अभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

121. ए is substituted for अ, of a verbal stem standing between two simple consonants, the stem not having any different letter substituted in the reduplicate, when the ending थल् of the Perfect having the augment इट् follows, and thereby, the reduplicate is elided.

Thus पेचिथ, शेकिथ ॥ But पपक्थ before aniṭ थ ; दिदेविथ, the vowel being इ and not अ ; ततक्षिथ, ररक्षिथ, the अ not standing between two *simple* consonants ; and चकणिथ, बभणिथ, the reduplicate having the substitutes च and ब different from क and भ ॥ This sûtra applies even when the affix is not कित्; and थल् is read in the sûtra only for the sake of clearness, no non-kit Perfect ending can take इट् except थल् ॥

तॄफलभजत्रपश्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तॄ, फल, भज, त्रपः, च, (अत एक हलमध्ये अनादेशादेर्लिटिथलिचसेटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तॄ फल भज त्रप इत्येतेषामङ्गानामत एकारादेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च, लिटि क्ङिति परतस्थलि च सेटि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रन्थेश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

122. ए is substituted for the अ of तॄ, फल, भज and त्रप, and the reduplicate is elided, when the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ङ्) follow, as well as when थल् with the इट् augment follows.

Thus तेरतुः, तेरुः, तेरिथ, फेलतुः, फेलुः, फेलिथ, भेजतु, भेजुः, भेजिथ, त्रेपे, त्रेपाते, त्रेपिरे ॥ In the case of तॄ the rule applies to the अ obtained by Guṇa, contrary to VI. 4. 126, in फल् and भज् the rule, that no different substitute should be in the reduplicate, is not adhered to, and in त्रप the अ does not stand between two *simple* consonants.

Vârt: It should be stated that the rule opplies to श्रन्थ also:-as, श्रेथतुः, श्रेथुः ॥

राधो हिंसायाम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधो हिंसायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राधो हिंसायामर्थेऽवर्णस्य एकार आदेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि क्ङिति परतस्थलि च सेटि ॥

123. ए is substituted for the आ of राध when meaning 'to hurt some one', and the reduplicate is elided, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ङ्), as well as before थल् with the इट् augment.

Thus अपरेधतुः, अपरेधुः, अपरेधिथ, but रराधतुः, रराधुः, रराधिथ in any other sense than that of 'hurting'. In this sûtra the *long* आ of राध is to be replaced by ए, the anuvṛitti of short अ (अतः VI. 4. 120) is therefore not appropriate here. We should either read the annuvṛitti of आ from VI. 4. 112, or we should read the word एकहलमध्ये in this way "in राध् *whatever* stands between two simple consonants is replaced by ए".

वा जॄभ्रमुत्रसाम् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जॄ, भ्रमु, त्रसाम, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जॄ भ्रमु त्रस इत्येतेषामङ्गानामतः स्थाने वा एकार आदेशो भवति अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि क्ङिति परतस्थलि च सेटि ॥

124. ए is optionally substituted for the अ of the stems जर् (जॄ), भ्रम, and त्रस्, and the reduplicate is thereby elided, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ङ्), as well as before the थल् with the augment इट्॥

Thus जेरतुः, जेरुः, जेरिथ, or जजरतुः, जजरुः, जजरिथ, भ्रेमतुः, भ्रेमुः, भ्रेमिथ, or बभ्रमतुः, बभ्रमुः, बभ्रमिथ, त्रेसतुः, त्रेसुः, त्रेसिथ, or तत्रसतुः, तत्रसुः, तत्रसिथ॥

फणां च सप्तानाम्॥ १२५॥ पदानि॥ फणाम्, च, सप्तानाम्,॥

वृत्तिः॥ फणादीनां सप्तानां धातूनामवर्णस्य स्थाने वा एकार आदेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि क्ङिति परत, स्थलि च सेटि॥

125. ए is optionally substituted for the अ and आ of the seven roots फण्, राज्, भ्राज्, भ्राश्, भ्लाश्, स्यम and स्वन्; and the reduplicate is elided thereby, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ङ्) as well as before the थ with the इट् augment.

Thus फेणतुः, फेणुः, फेणिथ or पफणतुः, पफणुः, पफणिथ; रेजतुः, रेजुः, रेजिथ, or रराजतुः, रराजुः, रराजिथ; भ्रेजे, भ्रेजाते, भ्रेजिरे, or बभ्राजे, बभ्राजाते, बभ्राजिरे; भ्रेशे, भ्रेशाते, भ्रेशिरे, or बभ्राशे, बभ्राशाते, बभ्राशिरे; भ्लेशे, भ्लेशाते, भ्लेशिरे, or बभ्लाशे, बभ्लाशाते, बभ्लाशिरे; स्येमतुः, स्येमुः, स्येमिथ, or सस्यमतुः, सस्यमुः, सस्यमिथ; स्वेनतुः, स्वेनुः, स्वेनिथ, or सस्वनतुः, सस्वनुः, सस्वनिथ, Why of 'seven"? Observe, दध्वनतुः, दध्वनुः, दध्वनिथ॥ The Phaṇâdi is a subdivision of Bhuâdi (873-879)

न शसददवादिगुणानाम्॥ १२६॥ पदानि॥ न, शस, दद, वादि, गुणानाम्, (अत एक हल्मध्येऽनादेशादेर्लिटि)॥

वृत्तिः॥ शस दद इत्येतयोर्वकारादीनां च धातूनां गुण इत्येवमभिनिर्वृत्तस्य च योकारस्तस्य स्थाने एकारादेशो न भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च॥

126. ए is not substituted for the अ of शस्, दद्, or of roots beginning with a व, or of such verbal stems in which the अ results through the substitution of Guṇa, though the affixes of the Perfect being कित् or ङित् follow, or the seṭ थल्, nor is the reduplicate elided.

Thus विशशसतुः, विशशसुः, विशशसिथे, ददे, ददाते, ददिरे, Of roots beginning with वः-ववमतुः, ववमुः, ववमिथ,॥ Of roots where अ is the result of Guṇa, विशशरतुः, विशशरुः, विशशरिथ, लुलविथ, पुपविथ॥ गुणशब्दाभिनिर्वृत्तस्यार्शब्दस्यौकारस्य चायमकार इति एत्वं प्रतिषिध्यते॥

The अ of Guṇa may result either from the guṇa of ऋ as कृ changed to कर् or of उ changed to ओ again changed to अव् as लु—लव॥

अर्वणस्त्रसावनञः॥ १२७॥ पदानि॥ अर्वणः, तृ, असौ, अनञः,॥

वृत्तिः॥ अर्वन्नित्येतस्याङ्गस्यतृ इत्ययमादेशो भवति, सुश्चेत्ततः परो न भवति, स च नञ उत्तरो न भवति॥

127. तृ (which is changed to न्त in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in ई unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem अर्वन्, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is त्, the ऋ is for the sake of making this affix an उगित्, so that in sarvanâmasthâna cases we have नुम् augment VII. 1. 70. Thus अर्वन्तौ, अर्वन्तः, अर्वन्तम्, अर्वन्तौ, अर्वतः, अर्वता, अर्वद्भ्याम्, अर्वद्भिः, अर्वती, आर्वतम् ॥ असाविति किम्, अर्वा ॥ अनञ इति किम्, अनर्वाणौ, अनर्वाणः, अनर्वाणं वृषभं मन्द्रजिह्वम् ॥

But अर्वा in the Nominative Sing: and अनर्वाणौ, अनर्वाणः, अनर्वाणं वृषभं मन्द्रजिह्वम् with the Negative Particle नञ् ॥

मघवा बहुलम् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मघवा, बहुलम्, (तृ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मघवन्नित्येतस्याङ्गस्य बहुलं तृ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

128. तृ is diversely substituted for the final of मघवन् ॥

As मघवान्, मघवन्तौ, मघवन्तः, मघवन्तम्, मघवन्तौ, मघवतः, मघवता, मघवती, माघवतम्, ॥ न च भवति, मघवा, मघवानौ, मघवानः, मघवानम्, मघवानौ, मघोनः, मघोना, मघवभ्याम्, मघवभिः मघोनी, माघवनम् ॥

भस्य ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्येत्ययमधिकार, आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः, यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो भस्येत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

129. Whatever will be taught in the following upto the end of the Adhyâya, should be understood to apply to the nominal stems called Bha (I. 4. 18, 19).

Thus sûtra VI. 4. 130 says 'पद् is the substitute of पाद्' ॥ It means पद् is substituted for पाद् when the latter gets the designation of भ ॥ Thus द्विपदः पश्य, द्विपदा कृतम् but द्विपादौ, द्विपादः where the affixes are those of Sarvanâmasthâna.

पादः पत् ॥ १३० ॥ पादः, पत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादिति पादशब्दो लुप्ताकारो गृह्यते । तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य भस्य पदित्ययमादेशो भवति । स च पाच्छब्दस्यैव भवति ॥

130. For पाद् is substituted पद् when the former is Bha.

The substitute replaces the whole form पाद् and not only the final, on the maxim निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule." ॥ Thus द्विपदः पश्य, द्विपदा, द्विपदे, द्विपदिकां ददाति (V. 4. 1), त्रिपदिकां ददाति, वैयाघ्रपद्यः ॥

वसोः संप्रसारणम् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसोः, सम्प्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वस्वन्तस्य भस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

131. The semi-vowel of the affix वस् (वंसु) is vocalised to उ in a Bha stem.

Thus विदुषः पश्य, विदुषा, विदुषे, पेचुषः पश्य, पेचुषा, पेचुषे, ययुषः पश्य ॥ For the purposes ofthe elision of आ (VI. 4. 64), vocalisation under the present sûtra should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22). Thus पा + क्वसु (III. 2. 107) = पपा + वस् = पपा + उस् + शस् (VI. 4. 131, VI. 1. 108). Now if उ were to be considered as asiddha, then the affix does not begin with a vowel, and we can not apply VI. 4. 64, which requires the elision of आ, but the samprasârana is not considered assiddha, and we have पप् + उस् + अस् = पपुषः पश्य ॥ In the nominative, where the stem is not भ, we have पपा + वस् + स् = पपी + वस् + स (VI. 4. 66) = पपीवान् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 4. 10, VI. 1. 68 and VIII. 2. 23). The affix क्वसु is included in वसु for the purposes of samprasârana.

वाह ऊठ् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, ऊठ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाह इत्येवमन्तस्य भस्य ऊठ् इत्येतत्संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

132. The व् in वाह् is vocalised to ऊ (ऊठ्), when the compound stem is Bha.

The word वाह् is a ण्वि formed stem by III. 2. 64. It can never stand alone, but, must be preceded by an upapada: hence we have used the word "compound." Thus प्रष्ठौहः, प्रष्ठौहा, प्रष्ठौहे, दित्यौहः, दित्यौहा, दित्यौहे. ॥ By VI. 1. 108, ऊ + आ (of वा) = ऊ ;and then प्रष्ठ + ऊह् = प्रष्ठौह् ; the Vriddhi being substituted by VI. 1. 89. This form could have been evolved by simple samprasârana thus: प्रष्ठ + वह् + शस् = प्रष्ठ + उह् + अस् (VI. 1. 108) = प्रष्ठ + ओह् + अस् (the affix ण्वि III. 2. 64, will produce guna) = प्रष्ठोहः (VI. 1. 88). In fact ण्वि is never added to वह् (III. 2. 64) unless the preceding member ends in अ and that अ + ओ of वा will always produce औ ॥ The making of this special samprasârana in ऊठ्, indicates the existence of following maxim : असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ; and the samprasârana being a bahiranga operation, is considered as asiddha for the purposes of guna which is an antaranga operation : therefore, we can never get the form ओह ॥

श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्व, युव, मघोनाम्, अतद्धिते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वन् युवन् मघवन् इत्येतेषामङ्गानामतद्धिते प्रत्यये परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

133. The व of श्वन्, युवन् and मघवन् becomes vocalised, but not before a Taddhita affix.

Thus शुनः, शुना, शुने, यूनः, यूना, यूने, मघोनः, मघोना, मघोने ॥ But शौवनं मांसम् यौवनं वर्तते, माघवनः स्थालीपाकः with Taddhita affixes. शौवन is formed by अञ् affix (IV. 3. 154) and औ being added by VII. 3. 4 as श्वन belongs dvârâdi class.

This vocalisation takes place of the nouns ending in न्, but not when they become feminine or do not end in न्, as युवतीः पश्य, मघवतः, मघवते, मघवता ॥ The word अनः of the next sûtra, in a way, qualifies this sûtra also.

अल्लोपोऽनः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अल्, लोपः, अनः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्येवमन्तस्य भस्य अकारलोपो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनो नकारान्तस्यायं लोप इष्यते ॥

134. Of a Bha stem ending in अन्, the अ is elided.

As राज्ञः पश्य, राज्ञा, राज्ञे, तक्ष्णः पश्य, तक्ष्णा and तक्ष्णे ॥ *Vârt*:—The elision takes place of a stem which actually ends in न्, therefore, it does not take place here, राजकीयम् ॥

षपूर्वहन्धृतराज्ञामणि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष पूर्व, हन्, धृतराज्ञाम्, अणि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षकारपूर्वो यो ऽन् हनो धृतराज्ञश्च तस्याकारलोपो भवति ॥

135. Of a Bha stem ending in अन् with a preceding ष, as well as of हन् and धृतराजन्, the अ is elided before the affix अण् ॥

Thus औक्ष्णः, ताक्ष्णः, भ्रौणघ्नः, धार्तराज्ञः ॥ But सामनः, वैमन ॥ Why do we say before the affix अण्? Observe ताक्षण्यः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a ष'? Observe सामनः and वैमनः from सामन् and विमन् formed with the affix अण्; here neither the अ of मन् nor the final syllable अन् is elided, since VI. 4. 167 keeps these words in their primitive state so far.

विभाषा ङिश्योः ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ङि, श्योः (अल्लोपोऽनः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ङौ परतः शीशब्दे च अनो विभाषा अकारलोपो भवति ॥

136. In a stem ending in अन्, the अ is optionally elided before the Locative ending इ and before the ending शी (ई) of the Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.

As राज्ञि or राजनि, साम्नि or सामनि, साम्नी or सामनी (VII. 1. 19).

न संयोगाद्वमन्तात् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, संयोगात्, व्, म, अन्तात्, (अल्लोपोऽनः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वकारमकारान्तात्संयोगादुत्तरस्यानो ऽकारस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

137. The अ in अन् is not elided when the Bha stem ends in वन् or मन् with a consonant preceding व् or म् ॥

Thus पर्वणा, पर्वणे, अथर्वणा, अथर्वणे, चर्मणा and चर्मणे ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe प्रतिदीव्ना, प्रातर्दीव्ने, साम्ना, साम्ने ॥ Why do we say 'stems in वन् and मन्'? Observe तक्ष्णा, and तक्ष्णे ॥

अचः ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, (भस्य अल्लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अच इत्ययमञ्चतिर्लुप्तनकारो गृह्यते । तदन्तस्य भस्य अकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

138. The अ of अच् (अञ्च्) is elided at the end of a Bha stem.

Thus दधीचः पश्य, दधीचा, दधीचे, मधूचः पश्य, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI. 3. 138: and न् of अञ्च is elided by VI. 4. 24.

उद ईत् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, ईत्, (अचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद उत्तरस्याच ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

139. Long ई is substituted for the अ of अच् (अञ्च्), after the word उत् when the stem is Bha.

As उदीचः, उदीचा, उदीचे ॥

आतो धातोः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, धातोः, (भस्य लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तस्य धातोर्भस्य लोपो भवति ॥

140. The final आ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

Thus कीलालपः पश्यः, कीलालपा, कीलालपे, शुभंयः पश्य, शुभंया, and शुभंये from कीलालपा and शुभंया ॥ Why do we say 'the आ *of a root*'? Observe खट्वाः पश्य, मालाः पश्य ॥ This sûtra should be divided into two (1) आतः (2) धातोः; so that the long आ in general may be elided. For Pâṇini himself has declined क्त्वा and श्ना by the elision of आ, see VII. 1. 37, (क्त्वो ल्यप्) and III. 1. 83, (श्नः शानच्) ॥

मन्त्रेष्वाङ्यादेरात्मनः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रेषु, आङि, आदेः, आत्मनः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रेषु आङि परत आत्मन आदेर्लोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आङोन्यत्रापि छन्दसि लोपो दृश्यते ॥

141. In the Mantras, the beginning of आत्मन् is elided, when the affix of the Instrumental Singular follows.

आङ् is the name of the Instrumental singular affix, given by ancient Grammarians. Thus त्मना देवेभ्यः, त्मना सोमेषु ॥ Why in the Mantras? Observe आत्मनो कृतम् ॥ Why in the Instrumental Singular? यदात्मन स्तन्नो वरिष्ठा ॥

Vârt:—The elision of आ of 'âtman' is found in other cases also, but not so frequently as in the Instrumental, as त्मन्यासमञ्जत मह्यम् ॥

ति विंशतेर्डिति ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, विंशतेः, डिति, (भस्य, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य विंशतेस्तिशब्दस्य डिति प्रत्यये परतो लोपो भवति ॥

142. Of the Bha stem विंशति, before an affix having an indicatory ड, the ति is elided.

Thus विंशकः = विंशत्या क्रीतः (with ड्वुन् V. 1. 24), विंशं शतम्, (विंशतेः पूरणो विंशः, with डट affix V. 2. 48), एकविंशः ॥ Why do we say 'having an indicatory ड'? Observe विंशत्या ॥

टेः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ टेः, (डिति, लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ टिसंज्ञकस्य डिति प्रत्ययेपरतो लोपो भवति ॥

143. Before an affix having an indicatory ड्, the last vowel, with the consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided.

Thus कुमुद्वत्, नड्वत् and वेतस्वत् with ड्मतुप् (IV. 2. 87). So also त्रिंशता क्रीतः = त्रिंशकः with ड्वुन् of V. 1. 24. The rule applies even to non-bha bases, for effect must be given to the indicatory ड ॥ Thus उपसरजः, मन्दुरजः (III. 2. 97 with the kṛit affix ड) ॥

नस्तद्धिते ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, तद्धिते, (भस्य, टेः, लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य भस्य टेर्लोपो भवति तद्धिते परतः ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ नान्तस्य टिलोपे सब्रह्मचारिपीठसर्प्पिकलापिकुथुमितैतिलिजाजलिलाङ्गलिशिलालिशिखण्डिसूकरसद्मसुपर्वणामुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अश्मनो विकार उपसंख्यानम् ॥
वा० ॥ चर्मणः कोश उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ शुनः संकोच उपसंख्यानम् ॥
वा० ॥ अव्ययानां च सायंप्रातिकाद्यर्थमुपसंख्यानम् ॥

144. Of the stem bha, the final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is elided, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus आग्निशर्म्मिः, औडुलोमिः, सारलोमिः from अग्निशर्मन्, उडुलोमन्, and सरलोमन् with the Taddhita affix इञ् (IV. 1. 96). Why do we say 'ending in न्'? Observe सात्वतः ॥ Why 'before a Taddhita affix'? Observe शर्मणा, शर्मणे ॥

Vârt:—The final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following: 1. सब्रह्मचारिन्—साब्रह्मचाराः (IV. 3. 120), 2. पीठसर्पिन्—पैठसर्पाः (IV. 3. 120), 3. कलापिन्—कालापाः (IV. 3. 108 and IV. 2. 59), 4. कुथुमिन्—कौथुमाः (IV. 3. 101), 5. तैतिलिन्—तैतिलाः (IV. 3. 116), 6. जाजलिन्—जाजलाः (IV. 2. 59), 7. लाङ्गलिन्—लाङ्गलाः, 8. शिलालिन्—शैलालाः, 9. शिखण्डिन्—शैखण्डाः, 10. सुकरसद्मन्—सौकर सद्माः, 11. सुपर्वन्—सौपर्वाः ॥ In the above those which end in इन्, elide the इन् in spite of VI, 4. 164, and those in अन् contradict VI. 4. 167.

Vârt:—अश्मन् loses its अन् before a Taddhita affix meaning 'prepared there with': as, आश्मः, otherwise आश्मनः ॥

Vârt:—Of चर्मन्, the अन् is elided when meaning 'a sheath or purse': as, चार्मः कोशः (IV. 3. 134), otherwise चार्मणः ॥

Vârt:—The अन् of श्वन् is elided when the sense is 'to contract', as शौवः संकोचः (IV. 3. 120), otherwise शौवनः ॥

Vârt:—The Indeclinables like सायंप्रातिकः &c are formed by the टि elision: as सायंप्रातिकः, पौनः पुनिकः, बाह्यः, कौतस्कुतः (formed by ठञ् IV. 3. 11). But not before the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल्, as आरातीयः, शाश्वतिकः ॥ Pâṇini himself has shown the exception, in the case of शाश्वतिक, by using it in II. 4. 9. So also शाश्वतम् ॥

अह्नष्टखोरेव ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अह्नः, ट, खोः, एव ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अहन्नित्येतस्य टखोरेव परतष्टिलोपो भवति ।
वार्तिक ॥ अह्नः समूहे खो वक्तव्यः ॥

145. The अन् of अहन् is elided only before the affixes ट and ख ॥

Thus द्वे अहनी समाहृते = द्व्यहः, त्र्यहः (V. 4. 91 with टच्). द्वे अहनी अधीष्टो भृतो भूतो भावी वा = द्व्यहीनः, त्र्यहीनः (with ख V. 1. 87).

Vârt:—ख is added to अहन् in the sense of तस्य समूहः, when referring to a sacrifice. अह्नां समूहः क्रतुः = अहीनः (IV. 2. 42).

Though the अन् of अहन् would have been elided by the last aphorism also, before the affixes ट and ख, the present sûtra makes a restrictive rule: अहन् does not lose its final अन् before any other Taddhita affix, thus अह्ना निर्वृत्तम् = आह्निकम् (with ठञ् V. 1. 79). The word एव 'only' is for the sake of perspicuity. अहन् alone does not lose its final अन् before ट and ख, other stems also do the same. This we infer, from the exception made in the case of átman and adhvan, before ख, in VI. 4. 169.

ओर्गुणः ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तस्य भस्य गुणो भवति तद्धिते परतः ॥

146. For उ or ऊ of a bha stem, there is substituted Guṇa, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus बाभ्रव्यः from बभ्रू, माण्डव्यः from मण्डु, शाङ्कव्यं दारु (from शंकु), पैचव्यः कार्पासः, (from पिचु) कमण्डलव्या मृत्तिका (from कमण्डलू), परशव्यमयः, औपगवः, कापटवः &c. Instead of making the sûtra simpler by saying ओरोत् 'let ओ be substituted for उ or ऊ', the employment of the technical phrase गुणः in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim संज्ञा पूर्वको विधिरनित्यः "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term". The present sûtra is, therefore, anitya, and we have forms like स्वायंभुवः from स्वयंभू without guṇa. See VII. 4. 30 also.

ढे लोपोऽकद्रवाः ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ढे, लोपः, अ, कद्र्वाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ढे परत उवर्णान्तस्य भस्याकद्र्वा लोपो भवति ॥

147. The ऊ or उ of a bha stem is elided before the affix एय (ढ), but not of the stem 'Katrû'.

Thus कामण्डलेयः, शैतिबाहेयः, जाम्बेयः, माद्रबाहेयः, but काद्रवेयो मन्त्रमपश्यत् ॥

यस्येति च ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यस्य, ईति, च, (भस्य, तद्धिते, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवर्णान्तस्यावर्णान्तस्य च भस्य ईकारे परे तद्धिते च लोपो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम ॥ यस्येत्यौङः श्यां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इयङ् उवङ्भ्यां लोपो भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

148. The final इ and अ (both long and short), of a bha stem, are elided before a Taddhita affix and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus शार्ङ्गी, द्राक्षी, सखी from शाक्षि, द्राक्षि and सखि with the feminine affix ई

(IV. 1. 65) The above forms could also have been evolved by the simple rules of sandhi, as शक्षि + ई = शाक्षी ॥ It might be asked, where was then the necessity of eliding इ ? There would arise difficulty in the forms like अति सखि ॥ From the word सखी formed by ङीष् under IV. 1. 62, we form the compound सखीमतिक्रान्त : = अतिसखि, the final becoming short by I. 2. 48 (the samâsânta affix टच् is not added here as required by V. 4. 91, that rule applying to the masculine form सखि and not to the feminine सखी). Now if in forming सखि + ई = सखी, had we not elided the letter इ of खि, then the long ई being the single substitute for both इ + ई, would be considered as like the final इ of सखि by VI. 1. 85. That being so, the word अतिसखि would be considered a non – घि word by I. 4. 7, for सखि has been specifically excluded form घि class. Not being a घि, we cannot have the form अतिसखेः in the Ablative and Genitive singular. Hence the necessity of eliding इ before the feminine ई, so that the ekâdeśa rule VI. 1. 85, should not apply.

The short इ is elided before Taddhita affixes :—दुलि – दौलेयः, बलि – बालेयः, अत्रि – आत्रेयः ॥ अ is elided before ई as :—कुमार – कुमारी, गौर – गौरी, शार्ङ्गरव – शार्ङ्गरवी ॥ अ and आ are elided before the Taddhita :—दक्ष – दाक्षिः, प्लक्ष – प्लाक्षिः, चूड – चौडिः, बलाका – बालाकिः, सुमित्रा – सौमित्रिः ॥

Vârt :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of ई (शी), when it is the substitute of औ (VII. 1. 18), being the case-affix of the nom. and acc. dual in the neuter, and of certain feminine in long आ ॥ Before this ई, the preceding vowel, इ and अ are not elided. The stem before this ई is also bha by I. 4. 18 in the case of Neuter nouns. Thus काण्ड + ई = काण्डे ; कुड्ये ॥ सौर्य + ई = सौर्ये (the य would have beeen elided by VI. 4. 149). It is owing to this Vârtika, that we have inserted the word 'feminine' in the translation of the sûtra. This may also be done by reading the anuvṛitti of स्त्रियां (VI. 4. 136), and न (VI. 4. 137) into this sûtra.

Vârt :—इयङ् and उवङ् are superseded, when they would apply simultaneously with this lopa. Thus इयङ् and उवङ् have unimpeded scope in श्री or भ्रू + औ or अस् (जस्), as श्रियौ, श्रियः, भ्रुवौ, भ्रुवः ॥ Lopa has unimpeded scope in कमण्डलू – कामण्डलेयः (with ढञ् IV. 1. 135), and भाद्रबाहेयः ॥ But in वत्सप्री + ढञ् (IV. 1. 135), both the rules VI. 4. 77 and VI. 4. 148, present themselves. The former is superseded, and we have वात्सप्रेयः (वत्सं प्रीणाति = वत्सप्रीः, तस्यापत्यं) ; so also लेखाभ्रूः – लैखाभ्रेयः with the ढक् affix, this word belonging to Śubhrâdi class (IV. 1. 123).

सूर्यतिष्यागस्त्यमत्स्यानां य उपधायाः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूर्य, तिष्य, अगस्त्य, मत्स्यानाम्, यः, उपधायाः, (ईति, तद्धिते, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूर्य तिष्य अगस्त्य मत्स्य इत्येतेषां यकारस्य उपधाया भस्य लोपो भवति ईति परतस्तद्धिते च ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मत्स्यस्य ङ्यामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सूर्यागस्त्ययोश्छे च ङ्यां च ॥

वा० ॥ तिष्यपुष्ययोर्नक्षत्राणि ॥

वा० ॥ अन्तिकशब्दस्य तसिप्रत्यये परतः ककारादिशब्दस्य लोपो वक्तव्य, आद्युदात्तं च ॥

वा० ॥ तमे तादेश्च ॥ वा० ॥ कादिलोपे बहुलमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ ये च ॥

149. Of the bha stems **सूर्य, तिष्य, अगस्त्य** and **मत्स्य,** (and their derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate **य्** is also elided before the long **ई** and a Taddhita affix.

Thus सूर्येणैकादिक्=सौरी (सूर्य+अण् under IV. 3. 112=सौर्य, then ई of ङीप्=सौरी), as सौरी बलाका ॥

So also तिष्य—तैषमहः, तैषी रात्रिः ॥ So also अगस्त्यस्यापत्यं स्त्री=आगस्ती (IV. 1. 114), आगस्तीयः ; So also मत्स्य—मत्सी with ङीष् as it belongs to Gaurâdi class (IV. 1. 40). If the words सूर्य &c, were to be qualified by the word भ, then the sûtra would mean सूर्यादीनां भसंज्ञानां "of सूर्य &c, when they get the designation of भ"; and the result of this interpretation would be, that the rule would apply to cases like सूर्यस्य स्त्री=सूरी, आगस्त्यस्य स्त्री=आगस्ती, &c, only, where the forms सूर्य &c, are Bha, and not to their derivatives, as सौर्य &c: and there would not have been the forms like सौरी बलाका ; because, here the word सूर्य is not Bha before the affix ई, but the word सौर्य is Bha. Hence we have introduced the words "and their derivatives" in the translation, so as to cover the cases like सौरी बलाका ॥

In the last example, we again have an illustration, of the rule VI. 4. 22, which says that for purposes of asiddha the आश्रय must be the same. Thus सौर्य+ई=सौर्य्+अ lopa+ई=सौरी ॥ But सौर्य itself was formed by the elision of अ of सूर्य before the affix अण्, thus, सूर्य+अण्=सौर्य्+०+अण् (last sûtra) =सार्य ॥ But if this lopa be considered as asiddha by VI. 4. 22, then we have the following equation सौर्य्+०+अ (of अण्)+ई=सौर्य्+०+० (अ of अण् being elided by VI. 4. 148)+ई ॥ Here य् cannot be elided, as it is not upadhâ or penultimate: because the first lopa is considered asiddha. But it is not to be so considered, as their scopes (आश्रय) are different. Hence we have the elision of य् by this sûtra. It should not be objected that the य् here is not penultimate, but ultimate: as सौर्य+ई=सौर्य्+०+ई (अ elided by the last sûtra), and thus य् is ultimate. Here, however, rule VI. 4. 22, applies. This elision of अ will be considered asiddha for the purposes of the elision of य्, their scope being the same. So being considered asibdha, य् still retains its designation of upadhâ and is elided by the present sûtra. It should be remembered here, that we could not take help of the rule of sthanîvat-bhâva, because for purposes of यलोप, that rule is set aside. See I. 1. 58.

Why do we say the penultimate य्? Observe मत्स्यचरी ॥ This word is thus formed. The affix चरट् is added to मत्सी by V. 3. 53, in the sense of मत्सी भूतपूर्वा ॥ Then the मत्सी becomes masculine मत्स्य by VI. 4. 35, and we

have मत्स्यचर ॥ This word takes ङीप् by IV. 1. 15, because it is formed by an affix having an indicatory ट ॥ Thus मत्स्यचर+ई, and the word is भ, but the य is not elided, because it is not penultimate. The य has been read for the sake of the subsequent sûtras : उपधायाः alone would have been enough for the purposes of this aphorism. The rule contained in this sûtra is rather too general ; it is limited by the following vârtikas, which enumerate the conditions under which the elision takes place.

Vart :—The य of मत्स्य is elided before the feminine ई only : therefore not here मत्स्यस्येदं मांसं=मात्स्यम् ॥

Vârt :—Of सूर्य and अगस्त्य before the affixes छ, and ई (of the feminine) : as सौरीयः, सौरी, आगस्तीयः, आगस्ती ॥ But not here सौर्यं चरुं निर्वपेत्, आगस्त्य formed with the Patronymic अण् (IV. I. 114)

Vârt :—Of तिष्य and पुष्य when referring to asterisms, as, तिष्येण नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः=तैषः, पौषः (IV. 2. 3).

Vârt :—Of अन्तिक before the affix तसि, the क is elided, and the word has acute on the first syllable : as, अन्तितः in अन्तितो न दूरात् (V. 4. 45).

Vârt:— Before the affix तम, it loses the syllable तिक as well as क, as अन्तमः or अन्तितमः, in अग्ने त्वं नो अन्तिमः आन्तितमे अवरोहति ॥

Vârt :—The elision of क of अन्तिक takes place diversely, before the second member also, as अन्तिके सीदति=अन्तिषत् (स changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106)

Vârt :—The elision takes place also before the affix य, as अन्तियः, this is found in the Atharva-Veda, (अन्तिके भवः, with the affix यत् IV. 4. 110).

हलस्तद्धितस्य ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, तद्धितस्य, (य उपधायाः लोपः इति)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य तद्धितयकारस्य उपधाया ईति परतो लोपो भवति ॥

150. The य् of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine ई ॥

The anuvritti of "taddhita" ceases, because of its mention in the next sûtra. Hence this sûtra applies to feminine ई only. As गार्गी, वात्सी from गार्ग्य and वात्स्य ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by a consonant'? Observe कारिकेयी ॥ Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'. Observe वैश्यस्य भार्या = वैश्यी ॥

आपत्यस्य च तद्धितेऽनाति ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपत्यस्य, च, तद्धिते, अनाति (लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्ययकारस्य हल उत्तरस्य तद्धिते अनाकारादौ लोपो भवति ॥

151. The य, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita, when it does not begin with an आ ॥

Thus गर्गाणां समूहः = गार्गकम् from गार्ग्य, वात्सकम् from वात्स्य (IV. 2. 37-40). Why do we say 'a Patronymic य'? Observe सांकाश्यकः, काम्पिल्यकः (IV. 2. 80).

The repetition of the word Taddhita indicates that the elision takes place some-times of the non-patronymic य also, as सौमी इष्टिः ॥

Why do we say 'not beginning with a long आ'? Observe गार्ग्यायणः, वात्स्यायनः ॥ The य should be preceded by a consonant, otherwise we have कारिकेयस्यापत्यं = कारिकेयिः ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a Taddhita affix'? Observe गार्ग्ययोः, वात्स्ययोः (before the Genitive and Locative dual affixes).

क्यच्व्योश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्य, च्व्योः, च, (हलः, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्य च्वि इत्येतयोश्च परत आपत्ययकारस्य हल उत्तरस्य लोपो भवति ॥

152. The य् belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before the Denominative affix क्य, and the adverbial affix च्वि ॥

Thus वात्सीयति or वात्सीयते गार्गीयति, or गार्गीयते ॥ So also गार्गीभूतः, वात्सीभूतः ॥ But सांकाश्यायते (where य is not Patronymic) and so also सांकाश्यीभूतः; and not also in कारिकेयीयति, कारिकेयीभूतः, the य not being preceded by a consonant.

बिल्वकादिभ्यश्छस्य लुक् ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिल्वक-आदिभ्यः, छस्य, लुक् (भस्य तद्धिते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नडादिषु बिल्वादयः पठ्यन्ते ॥ नडादीनां कुक् च इति कृतकुगागमा बिल्वकादयो भवन्ति तेभ्य उत्तरस्य छस्य भस्य तद्धिते परतो लुग् भवति ॥

153. The affix छ of the bha stems बिल्वक &c is elided before a Taddhita affix.

The बिल्व &c are a subdivision of Naḍâdi class (IV. 2. 91), and the augment क is added to them by IV. 2. 91. After these words, with the augment क, the affix छ is elided. Thus बिल्वा यस्यां सन्ति = बिल्वकीयाः; तस्यां भवाः (IV. 3. 53) = बैल्वकाः ॥ Similarly वेणुकीयाः—वैणुकाः, वेत्रकीयाः, वैत्रकाः, वेतसकीयाः, वैतसकाः, तृणकीयाः, तार्णकाः इक्षुकीयाः, ऐक्षुकाः, काष्ठकीयाः, काष्ठकाः, कपोतकीयाः, कापोतकाः ॥ There is shortening of the final of कुंचा by the Vârtika कुञ्चा ह्रस्वत्वं च ॥ कुञ्चकीयाः, कौञ्चकाः ॥ छग्रहणं किम्, छमात्रस्य लुग्यथा स्यात् कुको निवृत्तिर्मा भूदिति, ॥ अन्यथा हि संनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापाये उभयोरप्यभाव इति कुगपि निवर्त्तेत ॥ लुग्ग्रहणं सर्वलोपो यथा स्याद् यकारमात्रस्य मा भूत् ॥

The affix छ is specifically mentioned in order to show that the *affix only* should be elided and not the augment क ॥ Otherwise कु would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim :—संनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापाये (or अभावे) उभयोरप्यभावः (or अपायः), "When of the two things which are taught together, one disappears, then the other disappears likewise". The लुक् indicates the elision of the *whole* affix ईय, and not merely of य ॥

तुरिष्ठेमेयस्सु ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुः, इष्ठ, इम, ईयस्सु, (लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्ठन् इमनिच् ईयसुन् इत्येतेषु परतः तृशब्दस्य लोपो भवति ॥

154. The affix तृ is elided before the affixes इष्ठन्, इमनिच् and ईयसुन् ॥

Thus करिष्ठः, विजयिष्ठः, वहिष्ठः, दोहीयसी धेनुः ॥ The whole affix तृ is elided, otherwise only the last vowel (टि) with the following consonant would have been elided by the following rules. The anuvritti of लुक् of the last aphorism should not be read into this, for had the elision taken place by लुक्, then the mark of the affix would also have disappeared likewise (I. 1. 63), and there would have remained no guṇa in विजयिष्ठ and करिष्ठ ॥ See V. 1. 122, and V. 3. 59; for these affixes. The affix इमन् has been read into this aphorism for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, there being no example of तृ followed by इमन्; तृ is followed by इष्ठ and ईयस् by V. 3. 59.

टेः ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ टेः, (भस्य लोपः इष्ठेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य टेर्लोपो भवति इष्ठेमेयस्सु परतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ णाविष्ठवत्प्रातिपदिकस्य कार्यं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ णाविष्ठवत्प्रातिपदिकस्य पुंवद्भावरभावटिलोपयणादिपरविन्मतोर्लुक्कनर्थमिति ॥

155. The last vowel, with consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided when the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस् follow.

Thus पटिष्ठः, पटिमा, and पटीयान् from पटु, and लघिष्ठः, लघिमा and लघीयान् from लघु ॥

Vârt:—The Prâtipadika followed by the causative णि, undergoes all the changes, as it would have undergone, had the affix इष्ठ followed it. Those changes are (1) पुंवद्भावः the feminine noun becomes masculine: as, एनीमाचष्टे = एतयति, श्येतयति ॥ इष्ठ belongs to तसिलादि affixes and causes masculation by VI. 3. 35, (2) रभावः—the change of ऋ to र, as पृथुमाचष्टे = प्रथयति, म्रदयति, see VI. 4. 161. (3) टिलोपः—as, पटुमाचष्टे = पटयति, लघयति by this sûtra, (4) यणादिपरम् i.e. the application of Rule VI. 4. 156, as, स्थूलमाचष्टे = स्थवयति ॥ According to the school of Bhâradvâja, three more purposes are served: (5) विन् मतोर्लुक्—as स्रग्विण-माचष्टे = स्रजयति, वसुमन्तमाचष्टे = वसयति, see V. 3. 65. (6) कन्विधिः—the substitution of कन् for युवन् and अल्प (V. 3. 64)—as युवानमाचष्टे or अल्पमाचष्टे = कनयति ॥ (7) प्रादि substitution, as required by VI. 4. 157: as, प्रियमाचष्टे = प्रापयति ॥

स्थूलदूरयुवह्रस्वक्षिप्रक्षुद्राणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः ॥१५६॥ पदानि ॥ स्थूल, दूर, युव, ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र, क्षुद्राणाम, यण्, आदिपरम, पूर्वस्य, च गुणः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थूल दूर युव ह्रस्व क्षिप्र क्षुद्र इत्येतेषां यणादिपरं लुप्यते इष्ठेमेयस्सु परतः, पूर्वस्य च गुणो भवति ॥

156. Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस्, is elided the last semi-vowel with that which follows it, and for the first vowel, a Guṇa is substituted, in स्थूल, दूर, युवन्, ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र and क्षुद्र ॥

That is ल, र, वन्, व, र, and र are elided. Thus स्थविष्ठः, स्थवीयान्; दविष्ठः दवीयान्; यविष्ठ, यवीयान्; ह्रसिष्ठः, ह्रसीयान्, ह्रसिमा; क्षेपिष्ठः, क्षेपीयान्, क्षेपिमा ॥ The words ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र, and क्षुद्र are read in Prithvâdi class and take 'iman' affix (V. I. 122). क्षोदिष्ठः, क्षोदीयान्, क्षोदिमा ॥ Why do we say परं in यणादिपरं i. e. 'the *last* semi-vowel'? The *first* semi-vowel of युवन् and ह्रस्व i. e. य of यु and र of ह्र should not be elided. The word पूर्व is employed for the sake of distinctness.

प्रियस्थिरस्फिरोरुबहुलगुरुवृद्धतृप्रदीर्घवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फवर्बंहिगवर्षित्रब्द्राघिवृन्दाः ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय, स्थिर, स्फिर, उरु, बहुल, गुरु, वृद्ध, तृप्र, दीर्घ, वृन्दारकाणाम्, प्र, स्थ, स्फ, वर्, बंहि, गर्, वर्षि, त्रप्, द्राघि, वृन्दाः, (इष्ठेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय स्थिर स्फिर उरु बहुल गुरु वृद्ध तृप्र दीर्घ वृन्दारक इत्येतेषां प्र स्थ स्फ वर् बंहि गर् वर्षि त्रप् द्राघि वृन्द इत्येते यथासंख्यमादेशा भवन्ति इष्ठेमेयस्सु परतः ॥

157. Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस् the following substitutions take place:—प्र for प्रिय; स्थ for स्थिर, स्फ for स्फिर, वर् for उरु, बंह् for बहुल, गर् for गुरु, वर्ष् for वृद्ध, त्रप् for तृप्, द्राघ for दीर्घ, and वृन्द् for वृन्दारक ॥

Thus प्रेष्ठः, प्रेमा, प्रेयान्; स्थिर, स्थेष्ठः, स्थेयान्, स्थेमा; स्फिर, स्फेष्ठः, स्फेयान्; उरु, वरिष्ठः, वरिमा, वरीयान्; बहुल, बंहिष्ठः, बंहीयान्, बंहिमा; गुरु, गरिष्ठः, गरीयान्, गरिमा; वृद्ध, वर्षिष्ठः, वर्षीयान्; तृप, त्रपिष्ठः, त्रपीयान्; दीर्घ, द्राघिष्ठः, द्राघीयान्, द्राघिमा; वृन्दारक, वृन्दिष्ठः, वृन्दीयान्; प्रियोरुगुरुबहुलदीर्घाः पृथ्वादिषु पठ्यन्ते, तेनान्येषामिमनिज् न भवतीति नोदाह्रियते ॥

Of the above, priya, uru, guru and bahula are read in Prithvâdi class and take इमन् (V. I. 122), others do not.

बहोर्लोपो भू च बहोः ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहोः, लोपः, भू, च, बहोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहोरुत्तरेषामिष्ठेमेयसां लोपो भवति तस्य च बहोः स्थाने भू इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

158. The इ and ई of these affixes (इमन् and ईयस्) are elided after बहु, and for बहु is substituted भू ॥

Thus भूयान्, भूमा ॥ In the case of इष्ठ, the following rule 159 will apply. Under I. I. 54 and 67, बहोः being in the Ablative, the first letter of the succeeding term is elided viz. इ or ई; in this case. ॥ बहु belongs to Prithvâdi class and takes इमन् affix. (V. I. 122) The repetition of बहोः is for the sake of pointing out the sthânî, for which the word भू is to be substituted: otherwise भू would have replaced these affixes.

इष्ठस्य यिट् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्ठस्य, यिट्, च, (बहोः भू च बहोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहोरुत्तरस्य इष्ठस्य यिडागमो भवति बहोश्च भूरादेशो भवति ॥

159. After बहु, the augment यिट् is added to इष्ठ, and भू replaces बहु ॥

As भूयिष्ठः ॥ This augment यिट् debars the lopa substitution, of the last sûtra, in the case of इष्ठ ॥ The इ in यिट् is for the sake of pronunciation, the

augment being यू ॥ Or इष्ठ may be taken to have lost its इ by the foregoing sûtra, and to the ष्ठ, the augment यि may be added.

ज्यादादीयसः ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्यात्, आत्, ईयसः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ज्यादुत्तरस्य ईयस आकार आदेशो भवति ॥

160. आ is substituted for the first letter of ईयस्, after ज्य ॥

As ज्यायान् ॥ ज्य is substituted for प्रशस्य by V. 3. 61. 'Lopa' being shut out by the intervening यिट् VI. 4. 159, the आत् is read in this sûtra. If the anuvṛitti of 'lopa' were present here, then the अ of ज्य would be lengthened before यस् by VII. 4. 25, and we would get the form ज्यायान् ॥ The peculiar construction of this sûtra indicates the existence of the following maxim :—अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधिः 'when an operation which is taught in the angâdhikâra (VI. 4, end—VII. 4, end) has taken place, and another operation of the angâdhikâra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place." In VII. 4. 25, however, क्ङित् is understood, and lengthening could not have taken place by that rule.

र ऋतो हलादेर्लघोः ॥१६१॥ पदानि ॥ र, ऋतः, हल, आदेः, लघोः, (इष्ठेमेयस्सु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रशब्द आदेशो भवति ऋकारस्य हलादेर्लघोरिष्ठेमेयस्सु परतः ॥

Kârikâ पृथुं मृदुं भृशं चैव कृशं च दृढमेव च ।
परिपूर्वं वृढं चैव षडेतान् रविधौ स्मरेत् ॥

161. Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस्, र is substituted for the ऋ in a stem, when this ऋ is preceded by a consonant, and is not prosodially long (on account of being followed by a double consonant).

Thus प्रथिष्ठः, प्रथीयान् and प्रथिमा from पृथु (V. 1. 122), म्रदिष्ठः, म्रदीयान् and म्रदिमा ॥ Why do we say 'the ऋ'? Observe पटिष्ठः &c. Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe ऋजिष्ठः, ऋजीयान् ॥ Why do we say 'when prosodially short'? Observe कृष्णिष्ठः, कृष्णीयान्, कृष्णिमा ॥ The following are the six words to which this rule applies and to none else :—पृथु, मृदु, भृश, कृश, दृढ, परिवृढ ॥ It therefore, does not apply to words like कृत, मातृ, भ्रातृ, &c, as कृतमाचष्टे = कृतयति, मातरमाचष्टे = मातयति, भ्रातरमाचष्टे = भ्रातयति ॥

विभाषर्जोश्छन्दसि ॥१६२॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ऋजोः, छन्दसि, (इष्ठेमेयस्सु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋजु इत्येतस्य ऋतः स्थाने विभाषा रेफ आदेशो भवति इष्ठेमेयस्सु परतश्छन्दसि विषये ॥

162. Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस्, the ऋ of ऋजु may optionally be changed to र, in the Chhandas.

As रजिष्ठः and ऋजिष्ठः, in रजिष्ठमेति पन्थानम्, त्वमृजिष्ठः ॥

प्रकृत्यैकाच् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, एक-अच्, (इष्ठेमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाज् यङ्गसञ्ज्ञकं तदिष्ठेमेयस्सु परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम ॥ प्रकृत्या ऽके राजन्यमनुष्ययुवानः ॥

163. A monosyllabic bha stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन्, and ईयस् ॥

Thus स्रजिष्ठः, स्रजीयान्, स्रजयति from स्रग्विन्, the विन् being elided by V. 3. 65, the stem thus becoming monosyllabic. स्रजयति is the causative, formed on the model of इष्ठ by the Vârtika under VI. 4. 155. So also स्रुचिष्टः, स्रुचीयान् and स्रुचयति from स्रुग्वत्, the मतुप् being elided as before. Why do we say 'a monosyllabic stem'? Observe वसिष्ठः from वसुमत् ॥ This rule is an exception to VI. 4. 155.

Vârt:—राजन्य, मनुष्य and युवन् retain their original form unchanged, before the affix अक ॥ As, राजन्यानां समूहः = राजन्यकम्, मानुष्यकम् ॥ This debars the elision of य required by VI. 4. 151. So यूनो भावः = यौवनिकः with वुञ् affix (V. 1. 133), in supersession of VI. 4. 144.

इनण्यनपत्ये ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्, अणि, अ नपत्ये, (प्रकृत्या) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इन्नन्तमनपत्यार्थेणि परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

164. The final इन् of a bha stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic अण् affix.

Thus सांकुटिनम्, सांराविणम्, सांमार्जिनम् (III. 3. 44 and V. 4. 15). These are formed by the Kṛit-affix इनुण् (III. 3. 44), and then अण् is added in स्वार्थ by V. 4. 15. So also स्राग्विणम् from स्रग्विन् ॥ Why 'when अण् follows'? Observe दण्डिनां समूहः = दाण्डम् ॥ It is formed by अञ् (IV. 2. 44). Why do we say 'non-Patronymic'? Observe मेधाविनोऽपत्यं = मैधावः ॥

गाथिविदथिकेशिगणिपणिनश्च ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाथि, विदथि, केशि, गणि, पणिनः, च, (अणिप्रकृत्या) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गाथिन् विदथिन् केशिन् गणिन् पणिन् इत्येते चाणि प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

165. गाथिन्, विदथिन्, केशिन्, गणिन् and पणिन् remain unchanged before the Patronymic अण् also.

Thus गाथिनोऽपत्यं = गाथिनः, वैदथिनः, कैशिनः, गाणिनः, and पाणिनः ॥ This sûtra applies to Patronymics.

संयोगादिश्च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोग- आदिः, च, (इन् अणि प्रकृत्या) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगादिश्च इनणि प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

166. The syllable इन् of a stem ending in इन् remains unchanged before अण्, when a conjunct consonant precedes it.

Thus शाङ्खिनेऽपत्यं = शाङ्खिनः, याद्रिणः, वाज्रिणः ॥

अन्, ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, (अणि प्रकृत्या) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नन्तमणि प्रकृत्या भवति अपत्ये चानपत्ये च ॥

167. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन् remains unchanged, before अण् affix, whether Patronymic or otherwise.

As सामानः, वैमनः, सौत्वनः, जैत्वनः, from सामन्, वेमन्, सुत्वन् and जित्वन् ॥

ये चाभावकर्मणोः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, अभाव, कर्मणोः, (तद्धिते अन् प्रकृत्या) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ च तद्धिते ऽभावकर्मणोरर्थयोरन् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

168. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन्, remains unchanged before a Taddhita beginning with य, when it does not denote existence in abstract or the avocation of some one.

Thus सामसु साधुः = सामन्यः, ब्राह्मण्यः ॥ But राज्ञो भावः कर्म वा = राज्यम् ॥ राजन् belongs to Purohitâdi class and takes यक् (V. 1. 128).

आत्माध्वानौ खे ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्म, अध्वानौ, खे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मन् अध्वन् इत्येतौ खे परतः प्रकृत्या भवतः ॥

169. The finals of the stems आत्मन् and अध्वन् remain unchanged before the affix ख ॥

Thus आत्मने हितं = आत्मनीनः (V. 1. 9), अध्वानमलङ्गामी (V. 2. 16) = अध्वनीनः ॥ But प्रत्यात्मम् and प्राध्वम् ॥ The first is formed by the samâsanta affix टच् added to the avyayîbhâva (V. 4. 108), and the latter by अच् (V. 4. 85).

न मपूर्वो ऽपत्ये ऽवर्म्मणः ॥१७०॥ पदानि ॥ न, म, पूर्वः, अपत्ये, अ वर्मणः, (अणि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मपूर्वो ऽन् अवर्म्मणोणि परतो ऽपत्येर्थे न प्रकृत्या भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मपूर्वप्रतिषेधे वा हितनाम्न इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

170. In a stem in अन् with a preceding म, with the exception of वर्मन्, the ending अन् does not remain unchanged before the patronymic affix अण् ॥

Thus सुषाम्णोऽपत्यं = सौषामः, चान्द्रसामः from चन्द्रसामन् ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by म'? Observe सौत्वनः, preceded by व ॥ Why do we use 'Patronymic'? Observe चमर्णा परिवृतो रथः = चामर्णः, the अन् not being changed by VI. 4. 167. Why do we say 'with the exception of वर्मन'? Observe चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्यं = चाक्रवर्मणः ॥

Vârt:—Optionally so in हितनामन्, as हितनाम्नोऽपत्यं = हैतनामः or हैतनामनः ॥

ब्राह्मो जातौ ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्राह्मः, अजातौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्म इत्येतदपत्याधिकारेपि सामर्थ्यादपत्यादन्यत्राणि टिलोपार्थं निपात्यते ततोऽजातौ अपत्यइत्येव अपत्ये जातावणि ब्रह्मणष्टिलोपो न भवति ॥

171. ब्राह्म is irregularly formed from ब्रह्मन्, when not meaning 'a kind or jâti.'

This sûtra should be divided into two (1) ब्राह्मः, the final अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided, when the अण् affix with the force of the Patronymic, as well as with any other force, comes after it. Thus ब्राह्मो गर्भः, ब्राह्मं हविः, ब्राह्ममस्त्रम् ; ब्राह्मो नारदः ॥ (2) अजातौ, but not so, when the Patronymic denotes a jâti ; for then the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is not elided before the अण् affix : as ब्रह्मणोऽपत्यं = ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmaṇa'. When jâti is expressed, but अण् has not the force of the Patronymic, the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided. As ब्राह्मी औषधिः ॥

कार्म्मस्ताच्छील्ये ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कार्मः, ताच्छील्ये, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कार्म्म इति ताच्छील्ये टिलोपो निपात्यते ॥

172. कार्म is irregularly formed from कर्मन्, by the elision of the final अन्, when the sense is 'accustomed to such an occupation or prompt therein'.

This is formed by ण affix (IV. 4. 62). If this is the case, then by VI. 4. 144, the form कार्म is regularly evolved. The fact is, that ण् and अण् affixes, in the sense of tâchchhîlika are considered as one, and therefore VI. 4. 167, would have prevented the elision of the final अन् syllable. In fact this proves the existence of the following maxim :—ताच्छीलिके णेऽण् कृतानि भवन्ति ॥ "The same operations which are occasioned by the addition of the affix अण्, take place, whenever the affix ण is added in the sense of one accustomed to that." Thus though ङीप् is added, to अण्-formed words, it is also added to ण-formed words, in the feminine : as चौरी ; तापसी &c. The ण taught in V. 2. 101, and III. 1. 140, is excepted. Why do we say, having the sense of accustomed to that ? Observe कर्मणः इदम् = कार्मणम् ॥

औक्षमनपत्ये ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ औक्षम्, अ नपत्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ औक्षमित्यनपत्येणि टिलोपो निपात्यते ॥

173. From उक्षन् is formed औक्ष, when not meaning a descendant.

As औक्षं पदम् but औक्ष्णः = उक्ष्णो ऽपत्यम्, the अ is elided in the latter example by VI. 4. 135.

दाण्डिनायनहास्तिनायनाथर्वणिकजैह्माशिनेयवासिनायनिभ्रौणहत्यधैवत्यसारवैक्ष्वाकमैत्रेयहिरण्मयानि ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाण्डिनायन, हास्तिनायन, आथर्वणिक, जैह्माशिनेय, वासिनायनि, भ्रौणहत्य, धैवत्य, सारव, ऐक्ष्वाक, मैत्रेय, हिरण्मयानि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाण्डिनायन हास्तिनायन आथर्वणिक जैह्माशिनेय वासिनायनि भ्रौणहत्य धैवत्य सारव ऐक्ष्वाक मैत्रेय हिरण्मय इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते ॥

174. The following are irregularly formed; 1.

Dâṇḍinâyana, 2. Hâstinâyana, 3. Âtharvaṇika, 4. Jaihmâśineya, 5. Vâsinâyani, 6. Bhrauṇahatya, 7. Dhaivatya. 8. Sârava, 9. Aikshvâka, 10. Maitreya and 11. Hiraṇmaya.

These words are thus derived (1 and 2) दाण्डिनायन and हास्तिनायन from दण्डिन् and हस्तिन् belonging to नडादि class. The affix is फक् (IV. 2. 91). If they do not belong to that class, the affix is added irregularly: दण्डिनोऽपत्यं = दाण्डिनायनः &c. The final इन् is not elided. (3) अथर्वन् belongs to Vasantâdi class (IV. 2. 63). The science or work of Atharvan Rishi is also called Atharvan. He who studies that work is called Atharvaṇika: the final is not elided before the ठक् affix. (4 and 5) The descendants of जिह्माशिन् and वासिन् are Jaihmâśineya and Vâsinâyani, the former with the affix ढक् of the Śubhrâdi class (IV. 1. 123), and the latter with the affix फिञ् of IV. 1. 157. The finals of the stems are not dropped. (6 and 7) These are derived from भ्रूणहन् and धीवन् with the affix ष्यञ्, and न् being replaced by त = भ्रूणघ्नो भावः, धीव्नो भावः ॥ हन् takes त before affixes having an indicatory ण or ञ् by VII. 3. 32: it might be said त would be added to भ्रूणहन् before ष्यञ् by that rule. That rule is, however, confined to affixes which come after roots only, and not to Taddhita affixes. That rule does not apply to cases like भ्रौणघ्नी, वार्त्रघ्नः ॥ The त in Bhrauṇhatya is therefore, an irregularity. (8) सारव is from सरयू with the affix अण्, the final अयू being elided, सरय्वां भवः = सारवमुदकं ॥ (9) The son of इक्ष्वाकु, with अञ् affix (IV. 1. 168), the final उ is elided, or इक्ष्वाकुषु जनपदेषु भवः = ऐक्ष्वाकः with अण् affix (IV. 2. 132). Accent on the first or the final. The irregularity consists in the elision of final उ ॥ As one word is ऐ॑क्ष्वाकः and the other ऐक्ष्वाकः॑, the sûtra ought to have read this word twice, strictly speaking. The single reading may be justified on the ground, that the sûtra gives ऐक्ष्वाक without any accent (eka-śruti), and consequently includes both (एकश्रुतिः स्वर सर्वनाम) ॥

(10) मैत्रेय is from मित्रयु of Gṛishṭyâdi class IV. 1. 136, and takes ढञ् as मित्रयु + एय, here VI. 4. 146, requires Guṇa, but VI. 4. 146, prevents it, and requires lopa of उ, but VII. 3. 2, required the substitution of इय for यु ॥ The irregularity consists in eliding यु altogether as मैत्रेय, the अ of मित्र cannot be elided by VI. 4. 148, befor एय, as the lopa of यु is considered asiddha VI. 4. 22; however the result is the same, for अ + ए = ए by VI. 1. 97; the single substitute being the form of the subsequent. The plural of मैत्रेय will be मित्रयवः (the plural of मित्रयु); as it belongs of Yaskâdi class and loses the affix in the plural (II. 4. 63). Another form of this word is मैत्रेयिक formed under VII. 3. 2. It might be objected that had मित्रयु been read in Bidâdi class (IV. 1. 104), it would have taken the affix अञ्, and the form मैत्रेय would have been evolved regularly: as मित्रयु + अञ् = मित्र + इय (VII. 3. 2) + अ = मैत्रेयः ॥ This would have prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskâdi class (II. 4.

63), for then by II. 4. 63, अञ् formed words would lose the affix in the plural and we would have got the form मित्रयवः in the plural. So far it would have been all right, but if मैत्रेय were to be formed with अञ् affix, as proposed, then the संघ derivative of this word would have required to be formed with अण् affix under IV. 3. 127, and not with वुञ् under IV. 3. 126; but we require वुञ्, as मैत्रेयकः संघः ॥ (11) हिरण्मय from हिरण्य with मयट् with the elision of य, हिरण्यस्य विकारः = हिरण्मयः ॥

ऋत्व्यवास्त्व्यवास्त्वमाध्वीहिरण्ययानिच्छन्दसि ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्व्य, वास्त्व्य, वास्त्व, माध्वी, हिरण्ययानि, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋत्व्य वास्त्व्य वास्त्व माध्वी हिरण्यय इत्येतानि निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

175. In the Veda the following are irregularly formed: Ṛitvya, Vastvya Vâstva, Mâdhvî, and Hiraṇyaya.

The word ऋत्व्य is derived from ऋतु, and वास्त्व्य from वास्तु with the affix यत्, उ being changed to व ॥ ऋतौ भवम् = ऋत्व्यम, वास्तौ भवम् = वास्त्व्यम् ॥ वास्त्व is from वस्तु, as वस्तुनि भवः = वास्त्वः with the affix अण् ॥ माध्वी from मधु with the affix अण् in the feminine, as माध्वीर्नः सन्त्वोषधीः ॥ हिरण्यय is from हिरण्य with the affix मयट्, the म being elided.

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